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VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN ZUR IRANISTIK
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON BERT G. FRAGNER UND VELIZAR SADOVSKI

NR. 46

PFERDE IN ASIEN:
GESCHICHTE, HANDEL UND KULTUR

HORSES IN ASIA:
HISTORY, TRADE AND CULTURE

herausgegeben von

BERT G. FRAGNER, RALPH KAUZ,
RODERICH PTAK, ANGELA SCHOTTENHAMMER

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OAW

BERT G. FRAGNER, RALPH KAUZ, RODERICH PTAK,
ANGELA SCHOTTENHAMMER (HG.)

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Geleitwort

Jemand, der wie der Unterzeichnete sich wiederholt mit der Militär- und Kriegsgeschichte Ostasiens beschäftigt hat, muß dankbar dafür sein, daß der Sammelband *Pferde in Asien: Geschichte, Handel und Kultur* nunmehr erscheinen kann. Die historische Tiefe, der geographische Umfang, die umfassende Sachkunde und Qualität aller Beiträge verdienen höchste Anerkennung. Das gleiche gilt für die Herausgeber, die sachkundig die Mitarbeiter ausgewählt und die Konferenz vorbildlich organisiert haben.

Herbert FRANKE

Vorwort

In der wirtschafts- und kulturgeschichtlichen Erforschung vor- und frühmoderner Zivilisationen Asiens spielen Pferde – ihre Zucht und Haltung sowie der Handel mit ihnen – eine wichtige Rolle. Das hängt damit zusammen, dass sie in ungleicher Weise über den gesamten asiatischen Kontinent verteilt waren und ebenso unterschiedliche Erwartungen an ihren Erwerb geknüpft wurden. Bis in die jüngste Zeit ging die Forschung davon aus, die Domestizierung der Pferde sei im Wesentlichen auf die frühe Geschichte Eurasiens beschränkt gewesen. Diese generelle Annahme ist inzwischen durch neuere, noch im Fluss befindliche Erträge der Naturwissenschaften „aufgeweicht“ worden. Dennoch gilt eine recht trivial anmutende Feststellung als gesichert: Der Gebrauch von Pferden ist verhältnismäßig zügig, vor allem aber nachhaltig über weite Teile Asiens verbreitet worden. Dabei sind Transaktionen und Kontakte vielfältigster Art zu beobachten.

Kriegerische Maßnahmen führten häufig dazu, dass das „Kampfgerät Pferd“ – sowie seine Zucht-, Haltungs- und Nutzungsmöglichkeiten – nicht allein mit den streitenden Parteien assoziiert blieb, sondern allmählich ebenso entfernte Nachbarn – und damit natürlich zugleich potenzielle Gegner und Opfer – in seinen Bann zog. In dem Maße, in dem die Erkenntnis wuchs, dass sich Pferde militärisch und zudem als Transportmittel und in der Landwirtschaft gewinnbringend einsetzen ließen, wurde der Handel mit ihnen zu einem wichtigen Bindeglied zwischen jenen Orten und Ländern, die zuvor nur miteinander kommuniziert hatten. Es versteht sich von selbst, dass in Fällen, in denen kultureller Austausch nicht eigentlich von Pferden abhing, bilaterale Verbindungen durch den Tausch, Verkauf und Erwerb von selbigen mitunter deutlich intensiviert wurden. Das führte auch zur Herausbildung neuer Körperschaften – vor allem im militärischen und „repräsentativen“ Bereich –, die sich über komplexe Mechanismen am Pferdehandel zu beteiligen suchten.

Seit grauer Vorzeit, so darf angenommen werden, waren Hirten und Bauern gleichfalls darum bemüht, Pferde zu erwerben – als Käufer, im Tausch gegen andere „Waren“, dann und wann aber ebenso auf gewaltsame Weise, durch Raub. Diese vermutlich frühesten Formen des „Pferdetransfers“ wurden selbstverständlich nicht oder nur höchst selten dokumentiert. Anders verhält es sich bei herrschaftlicher oder administrativer Einmischung in derartige Prozesse; solcherlei ist häufig in entsprechenden Texten festgehalten worden – in Form von Abrechnungen, Registrierungen, Bestellungen, Listen und dergleichen mehr.

Hier zeigen die Kulturen Asiens erstaunliche Unterschiede. China hat seine „Pferdeökonomie“ über viele Jahrhunderte hinweg gründlich beschrieben. Selbst in lokalen Chroniken findet das Thema immer wieder Erwähnung. Neben Tieren, die aus den Gebieten der Reiternomaden importiert wurden, „bestellten“ die Vertreter staatlich-administrativer Instanzen bald auch Pferde aus lokaler Zucht, außerdem benötigte der Hof eindrucksvolle Repräsentationspferde, die nicht *in situ* „produziert“ und auch nicht von den nördlichen Nachbarn erworben werden konnte. Das führte zu Pferdeimporten aus Westasien bzw. aus Gebieten, die in chinesischen Augen als westlich galten. An diese Importe knüpften sich politische Beziehungen, staatliche Prestigevorstellungen, bisweilen sogar neue kulturelle Normen.

Narrative Quellen aus Indien lassen darauf schließen, dass dort bis weit in die Kolonialzeit hinein oftmals ähnliche Bedingungen herrschten. Heimische Pferdezüchter galten in der Regel als wenig kompetent, Klima und Umwelt erschwerten die Tierhaltung. Zudem rafften unzählige Kriege riesige Kavalleriekontingente dahin. Auch hier wurde folglich zwischen lokalen „Standardpferden“ und teuren Importtieren – für königliche Gärten und Renommierzwecke – unterschieden.

Infolgedessen fiel Persien, samt seinen zentralasiatischen Nachbar- bzw. Randgebieten, beinahe „automatisch“ die Rolle eines besonderen Lieferanten zu. Kurz gesagt, Asiens Bedarf an edlen Pferden – für die Märkte Süd- und Ostasiens – wurde gewissermaßen aus „westlichen“ Quellen gestillt. Doch erstaunlicherweise hat sich dieser Umstand weit weniger im Textgut der Lieferländer niedergeschlagen als eben in Werken, die eher den „Nehmern“ zuzuordnen sind. Allerdings: Vorsicht ist geboten. Denn nicht nur die Quellen zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der iranischen Welt und ihrer Nachbarländer – diesseits des Osmani-

schen Reiches – werfen Fragen auf, auch die Tatsache, dass „Pferdethemen“ in der Iranforschung bislang einen geringeren Platz einnahmen als etwa in der Chinawissenschaft, sollte bedacht werden. Indien, so wäre zu ergänzen, dürfte hier einen Mittelrang einnehmen. Aber gleichwie, Iran hat nun einmal keine Institution, die der Historikerschule von Aligarh mit einer Persönlichkeit wie Irfan Habib als Doyen vergleichbar ist, und die einschlägig tätigen Iranisten scheinen kaum in der Lage zu sein, dieses Defizit zu kompensieren.

Umso interessanter war es für uns, jene Tagung auszurichten – am 19. und 20. Oktober 2006, auf Einladung des Instituts für Iranistik der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften –, aus der schließlich das vorliegende Buch hervorgegangen ist. Dass diese Veranstaltung – „The International Horse Economy in Iran, India and China“, so ihr Titel – überhaupt stattfinden durfte, ist vor allem der Österreichischen Akademie zuzuschreiben, der die Herausgeber hiermit danken möchten. Wie so oft in solchen Fällen, ging die eigentliche Projektidee auf ein spätabendliches Treffen der Unterzeichnenden zurück, die – frei formuliert – iranistische und sinologische Interessen im Einklang artikulierend, vom Heurigen inspiriert, sehr schnell zu der Überzeugung gelangten, eine gemeinsame „Pferdesitzung“ riskieren zu müssen. Dabei, so wurde überlegt, sollte nicht nur die lange Geschichte landgestützter Kontakte zur Sprache kommen – quer durch Zentralasien und die Mongolei –, sondern ebenso die maritime Komponente, gewissermaßen institutionell abgestützt durch das an der Münchner Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität verankerte und von der VW-Stiftung finanzierte Projekt „East Asian Maritime History“.

Interdisziplinäre Unternehmungen sind oftmals mit positiven „Nebeneffekten“ verbunden. Die hier präsentierte Sammlung deutet an, dass neben der Transfer-Thematik noch viele andere Gesichtspunkte für Begeisterung sorgen können. In den einzelnen Kulturen entwickelten sich „rund um das Pferd“ verschiedene Techniken, Künste und Fertigkeiten, die in der literarischen Welt und jenen Gefilden, welche üblicherweise in den Zuständigkeitsbereich der Archäologie fallen, mannigfaltigen Niederschlag fanden. Ein wenig davon ist auch in einige der hier abgedruckten Beiträge eingeflossen. Gleichwohl gilt das Hauptinteresse stets dem Austausch zwischen den Regionen, wobei, wie ebenfalls deutlich wird, viele „Kanäle“ noch längst nicht zur Gänze freigelegt wurden. Die Unterzeichnenden würden sich darum freuen, wenn das Begonnene eines Tages fortgeführt, ausgeweitet und vertieft werden könnte – in Form einer anderen Tagung und neuer Arbeiten.

Die Tagung war ein interdisziplinäres Unternehmen und die einzelnen Beiträge berühren oft verschiedene Aspekte des zugrunde liegenden Themas. Die Strukturierung der Artikel im vorliegenden Band entspricht nicht der der Tagung, wo der interdisziplinäre Austausch betont wurde und die Reihenfolge der Vorträge deshalb nicht unbedingt nach ihrer inhaltlichen Kongruenz ausgerichtet war. Wir haben uns hier für eine geographische entschieden, die ohne Zweifel kritisiert werden kann, aber das kann wohl auch jede andere – die west-östliche Ausrichtung soll keinesfalls eine Präferenz ausdrücken. Den Lesern wird auch auffallen, dass der Fußnotenapparat nicht vereinheitlicht wurde und auch andere Diskrepanzen vorhanden sind; z.B. wird der berühmte maghrebinische Reisende einmal Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ein anderes Mal Ibn Battuta geschrieben. Wir haben in all diesen Fällen der Eigenständigkeit der Autoren und ihrer jeweiligen Fächer Rechnung getragen und dieser den Vorzug vor einer Vereinheitlichung gegeben. Schließlich möchten wir uns noch bei Frau Brigid O'Connor aus Newcastle-on-Tyne bedanken, die die Korrekturen der englischsprachigen Texte übernommen hat.

Den Teilnehmern an der Tagung und den weiteren Autoren dieses Bandes sei zum Schluss für ihr Engagement herzlich gedankt.

Einführung
Introductory Essays

Asiens Pferdeökonomie aus der Sicht der historischen Forschung über den Vorderen Orient

Bert G. FRAGNER¹

Als vor einigen Jahren zum ersten Mal von Vertretern der Iranforschung und der Sinologie – genau genommen, von Experten der Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte Chinas einerseits und Irans sowie seiner Nachbarregionen andererseits – der Gedanke einer gemeinsamen Konferenz über Probleme des transasiatischen Pferdehandels in der vor- und frühmodernen Geschichte des großen Kontinents ventiliert wurde, schien alles noch recht einfach zu sein. Alsbald sollten sich aber einige Widrigkeiten einstellen.

Nach den Worten historisch arbeitender Sinologen – Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichtlern, aber auch von Militärgeschichtlern – zählten überregionaler Pferdehandel und Pferdeimport nach und um das kaiserliche China viele Jahrhunderte lang zu den wichtigsten makrohistorischen Aspekten der von ihnen behandelten Region. Pferdeimport scheint zuvörderst eine militärische Angelegenheit gewesen zu sein, aber auch der Gütertransport erfolgte in dem großen Reich bis ins neunzehnte Jahrhundert auf dem Rücken großer Tragtiere, darunter eben auch von Pferden. Vom Kaiserlichen Kanal abgesehen dominierten Pferde auch den Güterverkehr und wohl auch den Überlandtransport von Personen. Mithin bildeten Pferde zu allen Zeiten chinesischer Geschichte die physische Grundlage für innerchinesische Administration, Kommunikation und Interaktion im Bereich mittlerer und weiterer Distanzen. Für Außenstehende mit durchschnittlichem Interesse an chinesischer Kulturgeschichte mögen diese Feststellungen nicht gerade weltbewegend sein. Es verwundert uns auch keineswegs, dass Herrschaft in China immer wieder mit den diesem Reich benachbarten Reiterkulturen auf vielfältige Art verbunden war. Immer wieder mussten chinesische Herrscher ihre Position gegen feindliche Mächte an den Rändern des Reiches verteidigen, die ihren Ursprung in der innerasiatischen Steppe hatten und deren militärisches und politisches Potenzial grundsätzlich aufs Engste mit Pferden verbunden war. In nicht wenigen Fällen stammten chinesische Kaiser bzw. ihre Dynastien selbst von solchen peripheren, Pferde züchtenden Völkern ab. Es mochte Generationen gedauert haben, bis einfällende Eroberer bzw. deren Nachkommen letztlich der Sinisierung solcher ursprünglich fremder Elemente erlagen. Jedenfalls spielten Pferde und der Handel mit ihnen auf den verschiedensten Ebenen in der Geschichte Chinas eine wichtige Rolle: Das mochten die Ebene des Staates und staatlicher Institutionen sein, die militärische und kriegerische Ebene, und natürlich auch diejenige klein- oder großunternehmerischen Markunternehmens.

Wie auch immer: Pferdehandel war eine zentrale Angelegenheit. Diese Feststellung gilt auch, wenn vielleicht nicht mit dieser vollständigen Wucht, für den indo-pakistanischen Subkontinent, dort vor allem auf dem Gebiet der Mittelalterforschung, aber auch noch später, bis in das 19. Jahrhundert hinein. Bis heute haben sich Mengen dokumentarischer Evidenz dieses Pferdehandels sowohl für Ost- als auch für Südasien erhalten.

Warum und woher haben China und Indien zeitweilig so große Mengen von Pferden importiert, dass diese Importe belegende Dokumente und Quellen ihrerseits in zuweilen erheblichem Umfang erhalten geblieben sind?

Nähern wir uns zunächst dem „Warum?“ an. Wie schon erwähnt, standen militärische Bedürfnisse an der Spitze der Gründe für diese langzeitliche und rege Importtätigkeit. Man mag annehmen, dass eine Zivilisation mit einem langfristig so hohen Bedarf an Pferden im Laufe der Zeit ihre eigenen Ressourcen für Pferdezucht auf ihrem eigenen Territorium entwickelt und ausgebaut hätten. Tatsächlich hat es seit dem

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Altertum immer regionale Züchtungen besonderer Rassen gegeben. Vor allem galt das für den Süden und den Südosten des Reiches, etwa in Yunnan und auf der Insel Hainan, ähnlich auch an anderen Stellen. Diese Züchtungen lieferten überwiegend kleine Ponies, bekannt vor allem für ihre Ausdauer in lokalem Gebrauch. Dabei ist allerdings zu bedenken, dass bis zur Zeit der mongolischen Yuan-Kaiser Yunnan nicht als eigentlicher Bestandteil Chinas angesehen worden war. Wir werden auf chinesische Fragen zurückkommen.

Auf das „Warum?“ lassen sich auch in der Geschichte Indiens griffige Antworten finden. Seit der erfolgreichen Invasion von Wellen kavalleristischer Invasionen in den Subkontinent, getragen von muslimischen, überwiegend türkischen Reitervölkern – ich denke hier an die frühen so genannten Sklaven-Könige beziehungsweise die frühen Delhi-Sultane (13. Jahrhundert) – finden wir in Quellen, etwa in Chroniken, immer wieder Klagen von kavalleriegestützten Mächtigen über den Sachverhalt, dass die Weiterzucht von mitgebrachten Pferden über kurz oder lang missraten würde. Neben Beschwerden über degenerative Erscheinungen wurde auch der Umstand heftig beklagt, dass es in Indien zu wenig Erfahrung mit der sachgerechten Erziehung der Pferde gebe. Ich kann hier nichts über die faktische Berechtigung derartiger Beschwerden mitteilen, aber es ist deutlich erkennbar, dass sie – die Beschwerden über mangelnde Ergebnisse und die expliziten Behauptungen über die Erfolglosigkeit der Pferdezucht in indischen Ländern – nachvollziehbare und plausible Argumente dafür lieferten, dass ganz unglaublich hohe Summen geprägten Edelmetalls sowie Preziosen von vielerlei Art über Generationen hinweg in den Import von Pferden im Umfang von Tausenden und Zehntausenden investiert wurden. Die Quellen nennen als Herkunftsgebiete dieser Pferde Transoxanien und Baktrien, aber auch westlichere Gebiete der historischen Landschaft Chorasān – mit Respekt gegenüber der heutigen politischen Geographie aus Usbekistan, Südostturkmenistan und dem nordwestlichen Iran, über Afghanistan weiter in das Indusdal. In seinem „Bâbur-nâme“ beschreibt der timuridische Eroberer Indiens Zahiruddin Bâbur explizit die Stadt Kabul als einen ganz ungemein effektiven Pferdemarkt, der aus davon nordwestlich und nördlich gelegenen Liefergebieten gespeist worden war. Daraus ist zu schließen, dass aus der Sicht der zentralasiatischen Krieger Baburs schon das Indusdal und der Panjab offenbar als Gegenden galten, die für erfolgreiche Pferdezuchtunternehmen als ungeeignet bekannt waren. Belege aus vor- und frühkolonialer Zeit bestätigen diesen Eindruck. Ich kann keineswegs beurteilen, ob dieser übermittelte Eindruck auch tatsächlich zutrifft (bzw. zutrifft), aber die Historiographie zur neueren Geschichte Indiens liefert in erheblichem Maß Berichte in diesem Sinne. Der Begriff „Historiographie“ ist hier nicht auf Chronikenschrifttum aus der Mogul-Zeit und der Zeit unmittelbar danach beschränkt, sondern schließt Ergebnisse neuerer Geschichtsforschung ein. Frühe koloniale Beobachter britischer Herkunft, aber auch einheimische Historiker messen diesem Phänomen große Bedeutung zu, etwa die Historiker der Schule von Aligarh – Irfan Habib und seine Schüler – sowie diejenigen, die Traditionen folgen, wie sie Fernand Braudel etabliert hat, etwa K. N. Chauduri.

Aus ihren Studien erfahren wir Faszinierendes: Aus innerindischer Perspektive gab es offenbar kontinuierliches Interesse an zweierlei Typen von Rassepferden. Die einen stammten aus dem zentralasiatischen Raum, die anderen, eher von „arabischem“ Typus („Vollblut“), wurden aus dem Persischen Golf auf dem Seeweg über den Indischen Ozean transportiert. Der persische Chronist der Mongolenzeit (erste Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts) Vassâf (eigentlich „Vassâf-e hazrat“) berichtet darüber, der schon genannte Bâbur ebenfalls. Wie schon angedeutet, vermitteln sie den Eindruck, als habe es nicht nur mit den schlechten Zuchterfolgen als solche Probleme gegeben, sondern auch mit dem Umstand, dass das Training und die Dressur der Pferde auf indischem Boden extrem zu wünschen habe übriglassen. In anderen Beiträgen wird hierzu Genaueres ausgeführt. Für uns ist es hier von einiger Wichtigkeit festzustellen, dass es hinsichtlich der Unzukömmlichkeiten mit Pferden indischer Provenienz aus militärischer und höfischer Sicht nicht nur ein Defizit in Bezug auf Klima und Umwelt gab, sondern auch einen kulturbedingten Mangel. Wiederum wissen wir nicht, ob diese Schlüsse faktisch stimmen, oder ob es sich nicht eher um ein vorurteilsbehaftetes Lamento handelt, dass deshalb nicht wirklich stimmen muss oder gar „richtiger“ wird, wenn es nur über Jahrhunderte hinweg wiederholt wird.

Wenn wir nach den von den in Indien stationierten Importeuren bevorzugten Pferdetypen fragen, bekommen wir darauf *grosso modo* wohl auch die Antwort auf die Frage nach dem chinesischen Importbedarf.

Vielleicht ist es nicht ganz angemessen, bei der Frage nach früheren Bedarfslagen simpel und kurzschlüssig auf die heutigen Verhältnisse in der Pferdezucht in den modernen Regionen Nordost-Iran, Turkmenistan, Usbekistan (insbesondere auch im Fergana-Tal) und in Nord-Afghanistan linear zu verweisen.

In den Gebieten, die vor einem Jahrhundert zum Zarenreich und später zur Sowjetunion gehörten, ist davon auszugehen, dass die dortigen „Turkmenen“ oder Akhal-Teke-Pferde („Akhal-Tekkiner“ oder „Tekkiner“ in der Fachsprache der Pferdezüchter) heutzutage einen guten Anteil englischen Warmbluts enthalten und deswegen deutlich größer sein müssen als ihre dort heimischen Vorfahren vor hundertundfünfzig oder zweihundert Jahren. De facto ist das ansonsten sehr ähnliche, heutige „Turkmenenpferd“ von iranischem Boden (aus der Umgebung von Gonbad-e Qâbus) deutlich kleiner als die zur Zeit international gängigen „Akhal-Tekkiner“. Ursache für diese Zunahme an Stockmaß waren die Zuchtziele zaristischer und später sowjetischer Militärs. Die traditionellen „Turkmenenpferde“ repräsentieren eine offenbar sehr alte Rasse aus dem Iranischen Hochland und aus der historischen Landschaft Parthien, die dort schon lange Zeit, bevor turkmenische Stämme dorthin siedelten, gezüchtet worden war, möglicherweise schon die Pferdeform, die das antike Reitervolk der Parther gekannt hatte. Diese Pferde waren ungeachtet ihrer Kleinheit keineswegs Ponies, sondern verkörperten durchaus das Erscheinungsbild von Vollblütern. Bestätigt wird dieser Umstand durch die erst in den Sechziger Jahren erfolgte (Wieder-)Entdeckung des so genannten „Kaspischen Pferdes“, eines uralten Pferdeschlags vom Vollbluttypus, dessen Stockmaß offenbar deutlich unter 140 cm zurückbleibt. Nichtsdestoweniger ist dieser iranisch-turkmenische Typus extrem belastbar. Es ist durchaus anzunehmen, dass in historischer Zeit schon mehrfach der Einkreuzung englischen Blutes durch die Russen Vergleichbares geschehen sein mochte – allerdings mit arabischem Blut. Der „persisch-turkmenische“ Typus scheint noch nicht definitiv in das Abstammungssystem der Pferderassen eingepasst worden zu sein, insbesondere was die Position gegenüber den arabischen Pferden betrifft. Immerhin haben manche Forscher die Pferde aus den „Pazyryk-Gräbern“ im Altai dem iranischen Typus zugeordnet. Sie sollen vor allem die den Iran-Pferden analoge „Hechtkopf-Form“ aufweisen. Interessant ist, dass auf so gut wie allen persischen Miniaturen ungeachtet vielfältigen ostasiatischen Einflusses bei der bildlichen Ausgestaltung Pferde in den meisten Fällen diesem Typus folgen und daher dem „ramsköpfigen“ Pony-Typ mongolischer Herkunft deutlich entgegenstehen. Waren etwa die überlieferten „Himmelsrosse Alexanders des Großen“ derartige persische („turkmenische“) Pferde? Insoweit sie aus dem Einzugsbereich des Iranischen Hochlandes entstammt sein mochten, ist eine solche Überlegung von einiger Plausibilität.

Damit kommen wir zu einem kulturhistorisch bedeutsamen Moment: Langzeitlich besehen spricht vieles dafür, den Amu-darya beziehungsweise Transoxanien gleichermaßen als Grenz- wie auch als Begegnungsregion zweier equestrischer Zuchtbereiche einzuschätzen. In den Steppen nordwestlich von Chorasán, dem antiken Parthien zugehörig, finden wir (bis?) heute den persischen Pferdetyt, (das „orientalische Vollblut“ oder „Hochlandvollblut“ nach Thomas Druml) beheimatet. Die ramsköpfigen Verwandten des Mongolen-Ponys, die in der Form des „Kasachen-Pferdes“ in den Steppen am Aralsee und nördlich Transoxaniens bis heute gezüchtet werden, sind offenkundig die größten Vertreter dieses Typus, wenigstens zwischen dem unteren Amur und dem Aralsee. Umgekehrt scheinen aber auch die Turkmenenpferde die größten Repräsentanten des persischen Zweiges zu sein. Zwei Typen, in kultureller Hinsicht auch als Kampf- und Gebrauchspferd einerseits (der nördliche Mongolentyp) und als Repräsentationspferd andererseits (die Hochlandvollblüter) zu beschreiben, stoßen in dieser Region zusammen. Thomas Druml hat darauf hingewiesen, dass die durchaus dem Repräsentationsgebrauch zuzuschreibenden Typen des „Tang-Pferdes“ 7. Jahrhundert n. Chr.) einerseits und des iberischen Reitpferdes (wozu auch die Lippizaner zu rechnen sind) andererseits eines gemeinsam hatten: Sie vereinigten Eigenschaften der Vollblüter mit denen der Mongolenpferde, kombinierten vor allem das Erscheinungsbild der Orientalen mit der Ramsköpfigkeit der Innerasiaten.

Lässt uns diese Feststellung in Bezug auf unsere Region vermuten, dass es zwischen diesen beiden Typen in der Grenzregion auch Austausch im züchterischen Bereich gegeben hatte? Von einschlägigen Quellenangaben im Stich gelassen müssen sich die Historiker vorerst mit Spekulationen und Plausibilisierungen zufrieden geben: Solcherart wäre es durchaus denkbar, dass die von den Chinesen der Tang-Dynastie über

das Fergana-Tal importierten Pferde aus dem Westen Ergebnisse einer solchen typenübergreifenden Zucht gewesen sein mögen.

Wir können unserer gelenkten Phantasie die Zügel schießen lassen: Es wäre durchaus denkbar, dass in unterschiedlichen Epochen der orientalische Hochlandtyp in unterschiedlicher Größe in Erscheinung getreten wäre: Es mochte zur Zeit der (von Südwesten nach Nordosten verlaufenden) arabischen Eroberung des islamischen Ostens (7. und 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr.) durchaus von größerem Erscheinungsbild gewesen sein als während der in umgekehrter Richtung sich entwickelnden seldschukischen Wanderung von türkischen (oghuzischen) Stämmen nach Westasien (11. Jahrhundert) oder auch in den Jahrhunderten danach. Jedenfalls wurde es im 19. Jahrhundert wenigstens in der Akhal-Tekkiner-Zucht wieder größer, in diesem Fall wie schon gesagt durch die Einwirkung russischer Züchter.

Seit der Safavidenzeit (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert) wurden die Hochlandpferde in Iran im Wesentlichen von Angehörigen türkischstämmiger, tribal organisierter Hirten gezüchtet. Diese so genannten Qizilbash-Stämme – eine der Säulen des Militärwesens unter den Safaviden – waren die Vorläufer der heutigen Turkmenen. Unter diesem Namen setzte sich eine tribale Affiliation an den Nordosthängen des Alburz-Gebirges, vor allem aber in der so genannten Turkmenensteppe durch. Ihre Einzelstämme haben Namen wie „Yamud“, „Göklän“ und „Tekke“ getragen, von denen ein Unterstamm wiederum die „Akhal-Tekke“ sind.

Auch im Inneren nördlicherer Teile Eurasiens mögen solche Kombinationen zwischen dem mongolischen Typus und in Mitteleuropa heimischen grazileren Formen zustande gekommen sein – etwa das Baschkirenpferd, das optisch zwischen dem Mongolenpferd und westlicheren Typen wie dem polnisch-ukrainischen „Konik“ und dem in der Westukraine bis heute weithin anzutreffenden „Huzulenpferd“ steht.

Wenn also indische Potentaten für teures Geld Pferde über Land und auf dem Seewege aus Westasien importierten, ist wohl davon auszugehen, dass sie dabei zweierlei Pferdetypen erworben haben: Kostspielige Vollblüter (auf dem Seewege vom Persischen Golf bis an die Küsten- und Hafenstädte Gujarats und Südindiens) sowie Steppenpferde aus den kontinentalen Landschaften nördlich Chorasans für den Kampfeinsatz beziehungsweise generell für militärische Behufe. Hiezu passt auch der Hinweis auf den Umstand, dass in der Inselwelt Südostasiens kleine Lokalrassen in Vielzahl gezüchtet worden sind, zu denen hinzu große Mengen arabischer Pferde bzw. Pferde von entsprechender Erscheinungsform bis weit in die Kolonialzeit hinein regelmäßig hinzu importiert worden sind.

Die Persisch sprechenden Lande sind in diesen Handel ganz offenbar intensiv involviert gewesen. Umso erstaunlicher ist es, dass in den persischen historischen Quellen kaum auf den Pferdehandel verwiesen wird, obwohl in den historischen Quellen der Empfängerländer (vor allem China und Indien) den persophonen Teil Westasiens immer wieder gerade in dieser Rolle hervorheben. Es muss beeindruckende Organisationen und Institutionen für den Pferdehandel zwischen dem Persischen Golf und Indien (und weiter!) sowie zwischen Chorasans und China wie auch Indien gegeben haben, aber wir erfahren darüber kaum etwas in den Quellen, deren Herkunft wir den Ländern „Islamischer Kultur“ zuschreiben. Beispiele: Wir wissen Vieles über den Export von meistens türkischstämmigen Militärsklaven (zynisch ausgedrückt, von „menschlicher Ware“) aus Zentralasien über Iran bis nach Bagdad und in andere Teile der Arabischen Welt durch das Reich der Samaniden (10. Jahrhundert), aber aus den diesbezüglichen Quellen lässt sich kaum etwas über eventuell parallel laufende Pferdellieferungen erfahren. Im Spätmittelalter wurden für militärische Zwecke unzählige Sklaven (gleichfalls oft türkischer Herkunft) aus der Qiptschakensteppe nördlich des Kaspischen und des Schwarzen Meeres alljährlich zu den Verbündeten der Herrscher der Goldenen Horde am Uralfluss, an die in Ägypten ansässigen, so genannten „Mamluken-Sultanen“ geschickt und verkauft. Wir erfahren auch hier nichts über eventuelle gleichzeitig ablaufende Pferdetransaktionen. Diese spärliche Quellenlage spiegelt sich in der spärlichen Interessenslage der einschlägigen Islam- und Iran-Historiker wieder: Unter dem Stichwort „faras“ (arabisch für Pferd) finden wir in der „Encyclopaedia of Islam – New Edition“ einiges zu Themen der Hippologie (Dressur, Zucht, Veterinärmedizin, Rassenkunde etc.), aber überhaupt nichts zur Pferdeökonomie. Im persischen Schrifttum nimmt das Genre des so genannten „faras-nâme“ einen prominenten Platz ein – allerdings finden wir auch hier so gut wie nichts zu ökonomischen Aspekten des Pferdewesens, ausschließlich Hinweise auf kulturelle Implikationen. Allerdings gibt es eine schon angedeutete Ausnahme – die Periode der mongolischen Eroberung und Herrschaft in West- und Mittelasien (13. und

14. Jahrhundert). Für diese Periode fließen die Informationen etwas üppiger. Aber auch hier gilt: Wenn wir die „Encyclopaedia Iranica“ konsultieren (Stichwort „asb“, persisch für Pferd), finden wir zwar vielerlei über Pferde in altiranischer Mythologie und in der persischen schönen Literatur, aber nur Weniges zum Handel oder zur Zucht. Eine Ausnahme bildet in diesem enzyklopädischen Stichwort das Unterkapitel „Afghanistan“: Hier erfahren wir dank des englischen Historikers Edmund Clifford Bosworth detailreiche Angaben zu Fragen des spätmittelalterlichen Pferdehandels via Afghanistan nach Indien.

Wir haben offenbar ein diskursives, „transdisziplinäres“ Problem: Sinologen und Erforscher der neueren Geschichte des indo-pakistanischen Subkontinents haben den Pferdehandel als ein wichtiges Thema in der Diskussion über die ökonomische und soziale Entwicklung asiatischer Kulturen erkannt und in ihren Fächern beheimatet. Iranisten und Historiker, die sich mit der Geschichte West- und Mittelasiens seit der Islamisierung befassen, haben sich bisher keiner vergleichbaren Praxis befleißigt. Könnte das gar als ein Indiz für „orientalistisches Denken“ in den einschlägigen Disziplinen interpretiert werden? Wahrscheinlich ist das ein überzogener Schluss, aber die Sache als solche sollte Beachtung finden.

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Functional Traits in Early Horse Breeds of Mongolia, India and China from the Perspective of Animal Breeding

Thomas DRUML²

The Eurasian region is assumed to be one of the origins in the process of equine evolution. The first domestication events are dated between 7000 and 4200 B.C. From that time the manifold relationships between man and horse started to develop and resulted in different manifestations of horse cultures and societies. Due to the equine domestication process a variety of innovations in human life could be realized. The impact on human society of the earliest taming of wild horses must have been as profound as the invention of the steam engine in the 19th century.³ Increased mobility provided by the horse enabled people to exploit larger and more diverse landscapes, maintain larger families and increase the range of their trade contacts. Later on the military implications, due to mounted troops, caused a social and cultural revolution which lasted up to the end of the 18th century. The quality of warhorses and the professional skills of the rider were often responsible for the outcome of wars until the invention of fire arms in the 16th century. Another important function of horses was their representation of wealth, power and political influence. This aspect was even traduced into our modern world, and did not change over thousands of years. One thing that did change was the type of horse, due to economical, political, social and cultural human developments. These manifold demands require different and specialized types of horses, which had been bred by man since the earliest days of horse husbandry. This article focuses on the usage and traits of the important functional types of horses used in China, Mongolia and Asia with respect to convergent cultural and equestrian developments in Europe and the Middle East.

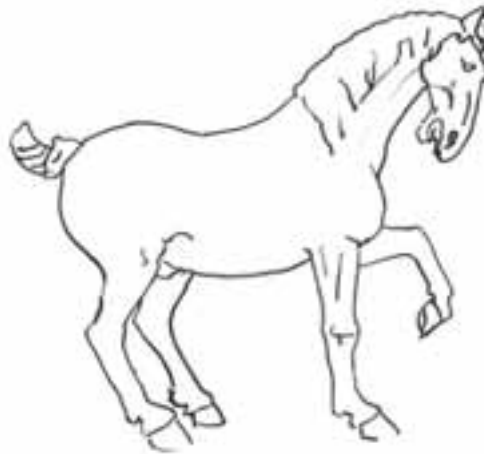


Fig. 1. Drawing after a horse sculpture of the Tang dynasty (654). This horse represents the same conformation characteristics as those known for Iberian classical riding horses.

Generally, three prominent horse types are assumed to be responsible for human and social development in the above mentioned geographic areas:

² Universität für Bodenkultur, Wien.

³ M. A. Levine, "Botai and the Origins of Horse Domestication", *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 18 (1999), p. 29.

- Ponies or primitive horses (Mongolian or the large number of recent Chinese pony breeds)
- Thoroughbreds or sprinters (a variety of Persian and Caucasian breeds – known as plateau thoroughbreds)
- Representation horses (an ancient and extinct horse type of the Tang dynasty in China)

PRIMITIVE HORSES AND PONIES

These strains of equidae were the horses that early man made contact with and started to develop the skills essential for horsemen's culture. The sparse steppes of Mongolia and similar habitats combined with extreme changes in temperature and a restricted amount of nutrition forced a formation of the so-called pony type, a phenotype nearest to the equine wild form. Nomadic and pastoral societies were dependent on their livestock, especially on horses. Of all the livestock species available to steppe pastoralists, none is as well adapted to the human and natural environment as the horse and none is held in such high esteem. The horse can move rapidly and easily long distances over hard ground, providing its owners with both mobility (riding, packing, traction) and nourishment (milk, meat, fat). It occupies a position in the grazing succession that complements that of other steppe livestock: cattle, sheep, goat, camels, and yaks. It can subsist on long, dry, relatively poor-quality herbage, thus encouraging the growth of the shorter, more nutritious grasses, on which bovids (cattle, sheep, goats) depend. A horse does not need as much water as cattle. Moreover, it can find its own food under deep snow by digging to it with its hoofs, thereby making it available to the bovids, which cannot do so for themselves. The ram-shaped or elk nose is one morphologic criterion of steppe horses which equips them for this survival technique.

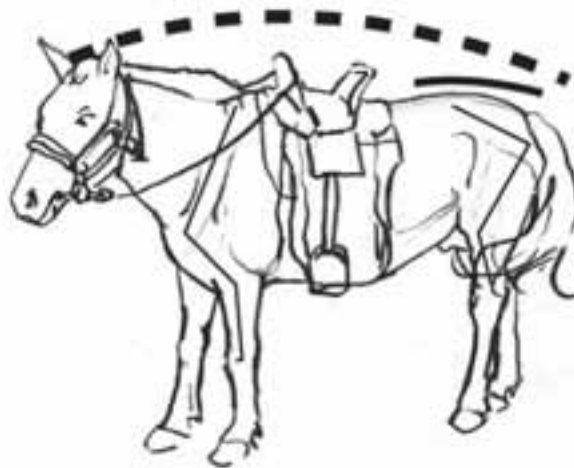


Fig. 2. Mongolian pony. Open, multipurpose joints, strong and short neck, muscular back, strong legs, a robust and strong weight carrier.

The annual life cycles of horse husbandry societies were dependent on their traction and riding animals. To carry out seasonal migrations at least 10 horses were necessary. An average Mongolian household had about 20 to 40 and a rich household might have kept hundreds or even thousands of horses.⁴ Due to the natural environment and the semi-feral livestock management used by pastoralists, selection pressure favoured an optimal adapted eco- and functional type of horse, which guaranteed the survival of horse-keeping nomadic societies.

The small body size of Mongolian ponies is a compromise between performance and adaptation in harsh environmental conditions: stamina and endurance, sufficient power and velocity, and at the same time low requirements on quality and quantity of food. Similar environmental conditions were responsible for the

⁴ Levine, "Botai and the Origins of Horse Domestication", p. 43.

formation of analogue horse types in different geographic areas, for example the Icelandic pony in Iceland or the highland ponies of the Spanish Pyrenees. All together show a low metabolic rate, resulting in modest nutritional requirements and a capability to cover long distances without wasting too much energy. Besides these constitutional traits, ponies are characterized by their movement techniques, which are highly specialized for the environmental demands described above.

The toelt especially, a four tact motion like the walk, is the predestined gait for long distances. It is faster than the walk and much more economical due to the lack of the swing phase, and as two legs are always touching the ground, it is also a very stable and sound standing pattern of motion.

The typical conformation of ponies creates an optimal horizontal stability in the body. The short, strong and deeply positioned neck is well connected with the muscular back, which affords low energy for bearing the head. Another important feature is the equal importance of the hind and forelegs resulting in a good balance of body and movements. Finally, the short and compact shape of the body, as well as its low height and its strong and durable joints enable this horse type to carry heavy weights.



Fig. 3. Movement characteristics of a toelting Icelandic horse. The stability and balance shown by the force arrows made this pragmatic horse type suited to a variety of purposes.

So the primitive pony type was created mostly by balancing and natural selection and is therefore well adapted to the environmental conditions of its habitats. Their functional traits can be described as follows:

- Balanced horse, in old European literature also referred to as a walking horse, with stable, sound standing gaits
- Weight carriers
- Long distance runners (at economic speeds)
- Semi-feral
- Low input horses

SPRINTERS OR AUTOCHTHONOUS THOROUGHBREDS

The recent breeds Arabian purebred OX, Persian, Turkmen or Achal-Tekh full-bloods belong to the group of racehorse models of the Near to Middle East, also called plateau-thoroughbreds. These breeds are assumed to be the oldest strain of equine subspecies (molecular age of about 47,000–166,000 years)⁵ and are summa-

⁵ T. Jansen e. a., “Mitochondrial DNA and the origins of the domestic horse”, *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. USA, PNAS* 99 (2002), pp. 10905-10910.

rized in the term “oriental purebred”.⁶ The hot and dry climates of these geographic regions require both man and horse to be tolerant of heat. In this way, autochthonous thoroughbreds developed different strategies to overcome this problem, which also differentiates them from all other equine breeds. To provide a sufficient heat emission, the skin is very thin with short, smooth hair. Instead of fat, a widely branched network of veins is incorporated in the sub-cutis. White coat colour generally exposes a negative selection pressure, except for desert regions and snowy areas. The grey coat colour combines dark pigmented skin and white, reflecting hair and in this way provides shelter from sunburn and through white hair the absorption of light is minimized. The mutation resulting in the grey gene is assumed to have happened about 4,000 years ago in this specific geographic area. Later this colour was extended to other horse breeds mostly by Arabian OX stallions. In this case the natural selection was directional and led to a certain percentage of grey coloured horses. But it is not only the grey that is typical for the equine sprinter type. So-called creamy colours such as palomino, cremello, dun and the famous buckskin in the Achal-Tekh breed with its cupric highlighting, are either light colours or have a reflecting component as copper, gold or silver shades, which all have one goal in common – reflection of sun light.

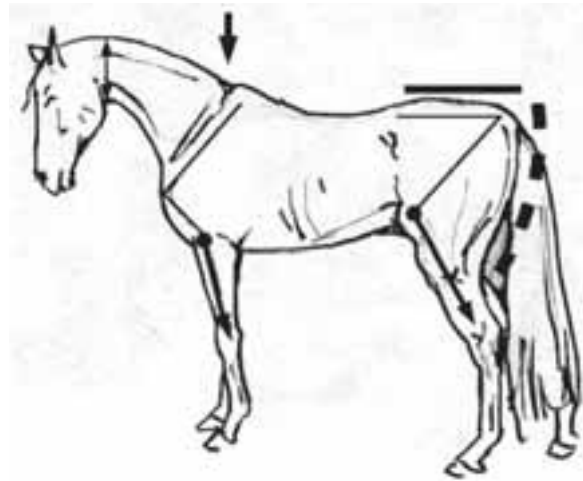


Fig. 4. Drawing of an Achal-Tekh stallion; functional and conformation characteristics are expressed by arrows.

The flat and poorly vegetated areas and the presence of fast natural enemies like cheetahs forced a horse to have the ability to sprint and even to run long distances. The dominant gait is therefore the canter. The horizontal croup combined with a high and steep neck is the main features for this gait, which is mainly supported from the back limbs. The resulting higher instability of the body mass centre favours higher mobility and a flexible foreleg. The English thoroughbred has been established exclusively from horses derived from “oriental purebred” populations, and selected for speed and stamina in a closed population for more than 300 years now. In our modern times this horse model became the proto type of the modern sports horse, which is used in sportive competitions up to Olympic levels nowadays.

Due to the narrowed down but concentrated food supply the shortest intestine of all equidae developed in this horse type. Because of its low fibre input the length and extent of the digestive system could be kept to a minimum leaving more space and impact in the organism for heart and lung volume.

Contrary to nomadic pastoralists like the Mongolians, where the treatment of horses reflected a symbiotic coexistence and did not have much impact on husbandry and herd structure or mating regime, the relationship between Bedouins of the Near and Middle East and their horses was much more intensive. The cultural esteem of assured descent and the idea of “pure blood” founded a breeding system based on genealogies a long time before the advantages of pure breeding were discovered in Europe. “Pure bloodlines” and “noble ancestry” have been a cultural concept for Bedouins and what they demanded. Cross breeding was frowned upon; instead inbreeding was used as it increased the value of the animal. Horses were used mostly for hunt-

⁶ E. Skorkowski, “Systematik und Abstammung des Pferdes”, *Z. Tierzüchtg. Züchtungsbiol.* 68 (1956), pp. 42-70.

ing and for war, and a culturally important aspect was their use as dispatch riders throughout most of the Islamic area. For these reasons selection went for traits such as speed, stamina, toughness and endurance. In the case of pure bred Arabian horses the intensive man-horse relationship was reported several times. This created a docile temperament and their ability to relate with man made these horses famous all over the world. Finally, as the significance of the horse was mentioned in the Koran the social impact of horses has not changed much up to our times.

The following morphologic characteristics describe the specialized conformation of the sprinter horse type:

- Very distinctive long withers
- Long, flexible neck and free neck-head connection
- Long and muscular lower leg
- Horizontal croup, the so-called “back motor”, enabling horses to quickly accelerate
- Acute joint angles
- Long rectangular format
- Long fetlocks
- Light calibre
- Long and dark muscles – endurance (no power)



Fig. 5. Motion characteristics of the equine sprinter type.

THE CLASSICAL RIDING HORSE – REPRESENTATION ON HORSE BACK

The “representation horse” was an artificial product, which was created quite independently of the needs of everyday life, exemplarily described as “the royal horse (Iberian horse)” in Spain and evident from a variety of artefacts of horses from the Tang dynasty in China. For example, specific environmental conditions were responsible for the creation and evolution of the two different breeds of Mongolian and Icelandic ponies, which were well adapted to their habitats and show a similar phenotype. So too were comparable cultural conditions, spatial and temporal, yet separated from each other in China and the Iberian Peninsula, responsible for one very similar horse-type. This functional type evolved in a society defined by oligarchic regnancy. Ceremonies and representation has been a sign of the ruling elite and was used as a tool for safeguarding their political power. On horseback the noble had sufficient physical and mental distance from the common people. So using representation horses was a tool for demonstrating his status and position in public. For this purpose a very special type of horse has been bred – able to transform this kind of mental human spirit into

physical appearance. Extraordinary gaits, elevated body posture, impressive behaviour, concise movements – all these features require specific morphological and psychological criteria that representation horses were selected for. Coat colour was an important trait for these breeds; most typical were all different kinds of spotted patterns – an expression of the extravagant nobility. This particular horse type spread and was found all over Europe between 1550 and 1810, and can be seen in paintings of typical colourful baroque herds.



Fig. 6. The mechanics of concise movements, shown by a Lipizzan stallion in about 1910.

Napoleon and his wars changed European society and governmental regimes. The rise of the bourgeoisie forced the nobles to slacken the reins, and a time when more restrained coat colours in horses were seen. It was known that Napoleon was a great lover of Arabian purebreds, especially of grey horses, an attitude that was later copied by the ruling classes.

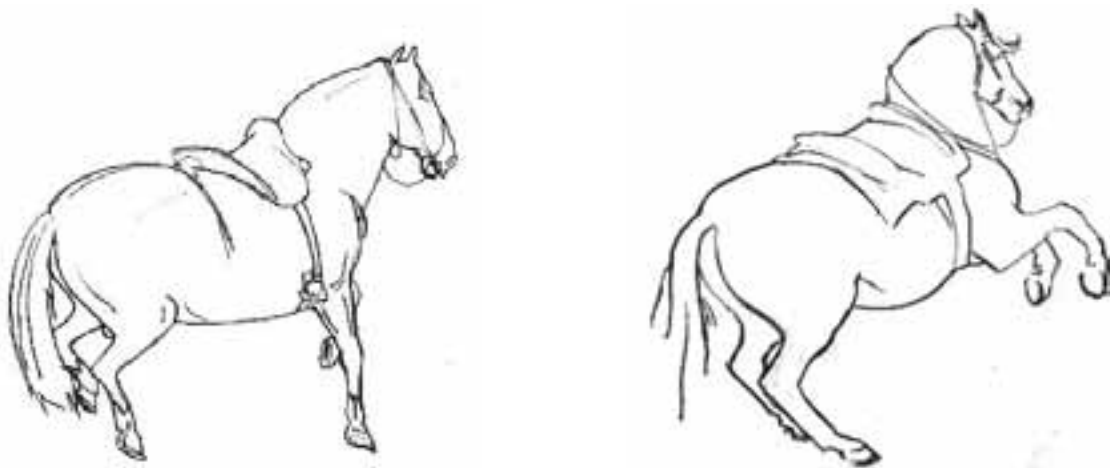


Fig. 7 and 8. Two very similar types of “royal horses” originating from different areas, genetic background and time periods. On the left a drawing after a painting (walking the horse) from the famous horse painter Han Gan (706–783), Tang dynasty, China. On the right, a portrait of a Spanish horse, painted by Velasquez 17th century, Spain.

As corpulence is feared like nothing else these days, this has been a symbol of power and wealth for long periods of time. Horses, typically well fed and groomed, were especially important as status symbols in rural areas, housed in stables or at least near their owners’ domiciles. At the same time the art of riding developed from riding techniques established for warfare. So horseback riding became an important part of a noble’s everyday life and an instrument of education for both body and mind in order to guarantee the class

consciousness of the ruling elite. Equestrian art, a new term in noble culture, demonstrated the ability of the rider to control the horse by maintaining its natural beauty and harmony. To reach this goal a lot of time and patience were invested which resulted in a training period of more than 7 years, but also was the reason for the longevity of these rare and expensive animals. For this artificial purpose only stallions were used as their specific behaviour was predestined for this representative and impressive style of riding.

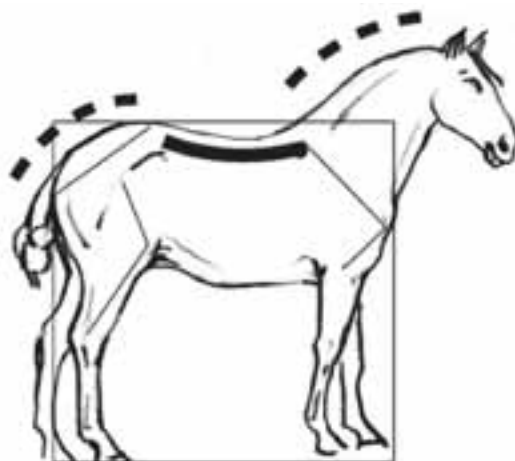


Fig. 9. Conformational characteristics of a young Lusitano stallion.

The conformation of the so called “classical riding horse” is characterized by a powerful but short back that has a good connection to the rear quarters and a muscular croup. The main proportion of muscles is placed in this area, which allows the elevation of the rider’s weight within the central mass of the horse. Short upper front legs, long cannon bones in combination with an elevated, muscular and well positioned neck are responsible for the typical vertical leg-action movement, known as knee-action. Contrary to oriental purebreds and ponies, both breeds, the Chinese Tang horse and the Iberian horse, show the typical convex head profile, called ram-shaped head.

Morphological characteristics:

- Strong and muscular croup and back
- Elevated neck position, short upper front legs, vertical leg-action
- Quadratic format
- Balanced joint angles
- Ram-shaped head profile
- Bodybuilder type

<i>Classical riding horse</i>	<i>Oriental purebreds</i>	<i>Primitive horses and ponies</i>
Artificial product Not a breed in the narrow sense (similar type of horses) Crossbreeding Trading of horses, stallions Traits: Riding ability Coat colour Head profile Environment Artificial, stables	Purebred Strict selection for speed, endurance Inbreeding Inbreeding to fix positive traits Traits: Speed Endurance Environment Grasslands, plateau	Semi-ferals Natural selection, man is just the user Natural mating Natural selection and mating Traits: Robustness (temperature, climate, nutrition, performance), Milk Environment All-rounder

Primarily, horses were used for meat production, then for traction and finally, about 3000 B.C., as a riding animal. At the beginning of the horse-rider relationship the methods of riding were far away from the ideal of equestrian arts. The rare trained horses were used mostly for military reasons, and were not a part of everyday life, as bovids or donkeys. But horses soon started to play a part in cultural and spiritual life. In Chinese mythology they were put on a level with the sun, followed by the dragon in second place amongst the sacred animals. Some sources refer to the horse as the ancestor of humans; therefore it played an important role in death cults. Born of the earth, the Chinese understood the equine myth in a cosmological way.⁷ In that way a huge number of similar positive attributes could be listed. This significance of the horse also shows that immaterial and cultural esteem was higher than its practical value. The period of prosperity of the Chinese representation horse was linked with the rise of the aristocracy during the Tang dynasty (618–907 A.D.). The ruling elite were financially and politically able to place the horse in a cultural status. Horseback riding was considered an art and became an important aspect for painters, sculptors and poets. As a socially important game, polo was invented, which required high quality horses and the skill of a sophisticated riding technique. So called “dancing horses”, comparable to the European “horse carousels” of the baroque period, were responsible for the entertainment of the nobles. From 906 A.D. the demise of the aristocracy began which was replaced in 960 by the bureaucracy. At the same time the nobles and their horse culture started to disappear, a procedure that could be seen 700 years later in Europe, when the Baroque period was followed by the Age of Enlightenment. The European roots of equestrian arts were found in antique scripts and Byzantine horsemen during the period of renaissance. As in Spain from 700 A.D. European and Islamic culture began to interact, also the equestrian sector began to improve rapidly. Thanks to the merging of knowledge and genetics, since the 14th century the best horses in Europe have been bred in the Iberian Peninsula. Later on a steady horse trade between northern Europe and Spain was established, and within 200 years the whole European horse population could trace its roots to the Iberian representation horse. Due to the political and military changes in the 19th and 20th century, this type of horse vanished completely from the scene. Only in Spain, Portugal, and the area of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire was the classical riding horse preserved into our times. The reason for this were both cultural, the Iberian bullfight, and political, an old and conservative Austrian Emperor. Finally horse breeds can be divided into functional and autochthonous breeds, which are well adapted to environmental situations, and cultural breeds, which are highly dependent on the stage at which human society finds itself.

⁷ Cf. Wolfgang Kubin, “Vom Ross zur Schindmähre: Bilder des Pferdes in den Künsten der Tang-Zeit (618–907)” in this vol.

Die iranische Welt und Westasien
The Iranian World and Western Asia

Mythos und Reittier: Pferd und Pferdewirtschaft in der Überlieferung des Schahname

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Pferd und Pferdewirtschaft haben im sozioökonomischen wie auch kulturellen Leben der Iraner von der Antike bis in die moderne Zeit einen unverändert hohen Stellenwert inne gehabt. Sowohl in alt-, mittel- und neuiranischen Überlieferungen als auch in archäologischen Fundgegenständen der vorchristlichen Antike spiegelt sich vor allem das enge Verhältnis zwischen Mensch und Pferd wieder: Man denke an skytische Gräber, in denen Pferde neben ihren Besitzern bestattet worden waren, oder an die achämenidischen und sasanidischen Reliefs in Persepolis (Flügelpferd, Geschenkpferd) und Naqš-e Rostam (das Relief von Šāpūr I. und Valerian) u. v. m.

Auch in Wandmalereien und Abbildungen im Palast Čehelsotūn in Isfahan (z. B. safavidische Kriegsszenen), vor allem aber in zahlreichen persischen Miniaturen des Mittelalters, ganz besonders in jenen der illuminierten Šāhnāme-Handschriften, zeigt sich dieses enge Verhältnis von Mensch und Pferd, sei es im Alltag eines Reisenden, eines Reiters, eines Boten, eines Kriegers bzw. Helden oder eines Herrschers, von zahlreichen neupersischen Schriften über Pferd (*farasnāme*) hier ganz zu schweigen.²

ZUR TERMINOLOGIE

Im Iranischen gibt es mehrere Bezeichnungen für „Pferd“ bzw. „Ross“: die älteste und bis heute dominierende Bezeichnung ist *asp*, altpers. *asa-*, altiranisch **aspa*, av. *aspa*, mittelpersisch *asp*, np. *asp* (arabisiert: *asb*), ferner neupersisch: *bāre* bzw. *bāragī* für Reitpferd, auch für Packpferd; *xing* für Schimmel, weißes oder graues Pferd; *yābū* für gewöhnliches Pferd/Gaul/Arbeitspferd/Packpferd bzw. Saumpferd sowie arab. *hayūn/hiyūn* für Reitpferd; *hayūn* auch als Bezeichnung für das Reitkamel. Im Neupersischen gibt es auch Bezeichnungen für Pferde je nach ihrem äußeren Erscheinungsbild bzw. ihrer Farbe wie z. B. *abraš* („rot-weiß gesprenkelt/Apfelschimmel“), *nīlgūn* („blaufarbig“) etc. oder in ihrer Eigenschaft als Mutter, z. B. *mādiyān* („Mutterpferd/Stute“), *mādiyān-i īlxī* („Zuchtstute“) oder als *kurre* („Fohlen/Füllen“), ferner *astār* („Maulesel“). Man verwendet in manchen Handschriften, die sich mit Pferden und Pferdezucht befassen, auch die arabische Bezeichnung *faras*, so im Titel zahlreicher neupersischer Pferdebücher, der so genannten *farasnāme*. Diese Pferdebücher beinhalten wertvolle Informationen über die Typologie der Pferde nach Rasse bzw. Körperbau, oder über Herkunftsland der Pferde, nach ihrem äußeren Erscheinungsbild oder besonderer Eignung, aber auch Informationen über Pferdepflege, Pferdekrankheiten und deren Heilung u.v.m.³

Im Šāhnāme dominiert die Bezeichnung *asp* (bzw. *asb*), gefolgt von *bāre/bāragī*, *xing*, *hayūn* und *sutōr*; bei manchen Pferden auch metaphorisch *aždahā* bzw. *aždarhā* („Drache“), so z. B. für Raxš, das Pferd Rustams (10/113).⁴ Soweit zur Terminologie.

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² Siehe Horn (1907), S. 837ff.

³ Siehe EncIr (1987), S. 724-737 sowie EncIr (1999), S. 243ff. s. v. *Faras-Nāma*; siehe ferner Soltani (1987) sowie Shirzadian (1991), S. 1-3.

⁴ Beim Zitieren der Verse bzw. der Belegstellen aus dem Šāhnāme bin ich der Ausgabe und der Verszählung Mohls (1838–1878) und dessen von Wolff (1935, S. V.-XI.) korrigierter Nummerierung der einzelnen Bücher gefolgt, danach steht die „Versnummer“.

PFERD UND PFERDEWIRTSCHAFT

Entsprechend der inhaltlichen, entwicklungsgeschichtlich orientierten Anlage des Šāhnāme beobachten wir in den drei Teilen des Epos, also im mythischen, halbhistorischen und historischen Teil⁵ die allmähliche Entwicklung von Urmenschen, die zunächst in Höhlen wohnen, bis hin zu ihrer Sozialisation in dörflichen und städtischen, nationalen und multinationalen Gesellschaften. Dementsprechend zeichnet sich auch die Entwicklung von frei in Natur lebenden Tieren bis zur Züchtung als Haustiere, von einzeln auftretenden Pferden bis zu in großen Herden gehaltenen Scharen, welche für private, höfische und militärische Zwecke als Reit- bzw. Kampftier bestimmt sind. Hier ein kurzer Überblick über diesen im Šāhnāme überlieferten Entwicklungsprozess:

Im 1. Buch bilden neben den Urmenschen auch Tiere einen Teil der Armee von Kayōmart, die mit diesem freiwillig das Böse bekämpfen,⁶ von Pferden ist in dieser Phase noch keine Rede:

<i>parī u palang aṅṅuman kard u šēr</i>	<i>zi darrandegān gurg u babr-i dilēr</i>
<i>sipāh-i dad u dām u murḡ u parī</i>	<i>sipahdār ba kabr u kundāvarī (1/62-63)</i>

Da schaaft'er Peri, Barbel und Leu,	Reißende Wölfe und Tieger nicht scheu,
Von Tier und Vogel und Peri ein Herr,	Mit Heerführer in kriegerischer Wehr; (Rū. I/6f.)

Im 2. Buch lehrt Hōšang Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Herstellung von Werkzeugen aus Eisen, das Züchten von Tieren und Bekleidung aus dem Fell der Tiere. Im 3. Buch (Ṭahmūrāt) kommt erstmalig die Bezeichnung *asp* vor, allerdings als Komposita im Personennamen Šēdasp, dieser ist Berater des Königs Ṭahmūrāt, der die Dēvs bändigt und als Reittier einsetzt.⁷ Im 4. Buch trägt Žahḥak den Beinamen Pēvarasp („der mit Zehntausend Pferden“, 4/86ff.). Im 7. Buch (Manōčīhr) wird der Reichspahlavān Sām wegen seiner hervorragenden Reitkunst oft mit dem Titel *suvār* angesprochen: Sām-i Suvār („Sām, der Reiter/der Ritter“),⁸ so auch dessen Enkelin Bānū Gušasp, die Tochter Rustams: Bānū Gušasp-i Suvār.⁹ Namhafte Könige, Prinzen, Helden, Feldherren und Reiter tragen im Šāhnāme oft diesen Ehrentitel.¹⁰

Im 5. Buch erfahren wir, dass Firēdūn auf seinem Pferd sitzend, mit seinen Brüdern und Verbündeten auf entsprechend ausgerüsteten Pferden den Fluss Arvandōrd durchquert, um den bösen Žahḥak in Duzhox Gang (= *Bait ul muqaddas*, also Jerusalem, 5/341f.) zu stürzen (5/335ff., T. 1).

Der Einsatz von Elefanten (*pīl*), Stieren/Büffeln (*gāv/gāvmēš*) und Pferden in der Armee ist schon ab dem 5. Buch (Žahḥāk) ein Bestandteil der Kriegsmaschinerie der iranischen Großkönige,¹¹ so auch in der Armee des Firēdūn (5/297). Das berittene Militär stellt ab dem 6. Buch (Firēdūn) die wichtigste Schlagkraft gegen die ebenfalls gut ausgerüsteten Feinde Irans dar (6/555ff.). Die Pferdewirtschaft für den militärischen Bereich ist also schon im mythischen Teil des Šāhnāme thematisiert und in den folgenden Büchern immer mehr ausgebaut (T. 2).

Zwar verfügen Žahḥak bzw. Pēvarasp („der mit Zehntausend Pferden“) und sein Vater Mardās über große arabische Pferdeherden, aber es werden keine näheren Einzelheiten über die Pferdewirtschaft überliefert (4/89ff.).¹² Ähnliches gilt auch für viele weitere Textstellen, wo es um Reiter, Pferde und um die Pferdewirtschaft geht.

⁵ Der mythische Teil des Epos umfasst die Bücher 1-13, der halbhistorische die Bücher 14-19 und der historische die Bücher 20-50.

⁶ Siehe Rastegar (1989), S. 142ff.

⁷ In den folgenden Büchern finden wir weitere Beispiele für Personennamen mit der Komposita *-asp*, z. B. Zarasp, Āzar Gušasp, Ġāmāsp, Arḡāsp, Luhrāsp, Gustāsp etc. – siehe Wolff (1935), s. v. –, so auch in Frauennamen, z. B. Bānū Gušasp (12e/544 – mittelpersisch: *bānūg-gušn-asp*). Auch in einigen mittelliranischen Texten (z. B. Dēnkard, Bundahišn) und altiranischen Überlieferungen kommen solche Personennamen vor, dazu siehe den Artikel von Velizar Sadovski im vorliegenden Band.

⁸ Siehe Wolff (1935), S. 488 s. v. *sām*, Nr. 5: *sām-i suvār*.

⁹ 12e/910 [907: *mihīnduxṭ Bānū Gušasp-i suvār*] (f n. 3341, Anh. IV/23). Für die weiteren Siglen und Abkürzungen siehe Rastegar (1999), S. 14f.

¹⁰ Siehe Wolff (1935), S. 530f.: s. v. *suvār*.

¹¹ Für Belegstellen siehe Wolff (1935) s. v. *asp* und *pīl*.

¹² Im 4. Buch wird nur erzählt, dass Mardās eine große Herde mit zahlreichen Pferden, Rindern, Milchkühen, Schafen und Ziegen besitzt, deren Milch er an die Armen zu verteilen pflegte; vgl. Horn (1907), S. 839.

Von *galah/rame* („Pferdeherden“) und *galahdārī*¹³ („Pferdewirtschaft“) ist erstmals im 10. Buch (Garšāsp) die Rede, wo es um die Wahl eines Pferdes für den jungen Rustam geht (siehe Anhang), und von *galahdār/šubān* („Pferdehirt“) ab dem 12. Buch (Kāvōs), wonach die Pferdehirten ihre Herde im Gebirge zu züchten pflegen (12d/1238 und 2647). Ab diesem Buch sehen wir ferner, dass gerade durch zahlreiche, für verschiedene Kampfarten gut ausgebildete und ausgestattete Reitertruppen die militärische Überlegenheit Irans und die Herrschaftsmacht der iranischen Großkönige gegenüber dessen Nachbarländern, die auch über große Reitertruppen verfügen, gesichert und gestützt werden. Bei der Musterung seiner Arme sind es beispielsweise zunächst die Führer der Reitertruppen, die vom Großkönig Kai Xusrau mit ihren Aufgaben in der Armee betraut werden (13/148ff.). Solche Reitertruppen bestehen jeweils aus vielen namhaften und kampferfahrenen iranischen Helden. Bei den großen kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen der Iraner gegen die Nachbarn sind meistens abertausende Reiter und Pferde im Einsatz:

<i>guzīn kard az ān nāmdārān suvār</i>	<i>dilēirān-i ġangī dah u du hazār</i> (12d/649)
Er las aus den Tapfern die Reiterei,	Kriegsmannen Tausend zehn und zwei. ¹⁴ Rü.II/38)

<i>sipāhī u šahrī u ġangī suvār</i>	<i>hamānā ki būdand sīšad hazār</i> , (7/1079)
So Stadt- als Land- und Kriegsvolk wol	Dreihundert tausend waren's voll; (Rü. I/186)

Die Größe der höfischen Herde umfasst also meist viele tausende Pferde. Diese Herde stellen ein großes Kapital des Königs dar, sie besteht aus verschiedenen Pferdetypen und -rassen, von Trag- und Packpferden bis zu arabischen Reitpferden und seltenen majestätischen Prachtstücken.¹⁵

Unter den gezüchteten Pferdetypen für unterschiedliche Einsatzbereiche sind *asp-i suvārī* („Reitpferd“)¹⁶ sowie *asb-i ġangī* bzw. *asp-i nabard* („Kampfpferd“) die meistgefragten, und so ist auch ihre Zucht wirtschaftlich wichtiger.

Obwohl schon seit Hōšang Tierfell zur Herstellung von Kleidern verwendet wird, werden im 4. Buch (Ġamšēd) die Hirten noch nicht zu einem eignen Stand erhoben. Der Berufsstand *šubānē* („Hirtenamt“) bzw. *galahdārī* („(Pferde-)Hirten, Vieh- und Pferdewirtschaft“) ist, wie schon erwähnt, ab dem 10. Buch (Garšāsp) geregelt (10/89ff.); die Kameltreiber (*Sārbān/Sārvān*) treten dagegen erst ab dem 14. Buch auf. Die Hierarchie innerhalb des Hirtenamtes beginnt mit der untersten Rangordnung eines *muzdūr* („Tagelöhner“) und endet bei *saršubānān* („Hirtenführer/Oberhirten“, 21/73 u 75), die im historischen Teil einen eigenen Stand der *saršubānē* („Stand der Hirtenführer“, 21/110) bilden:¹⁷ In den Büchern 16 und 21 üben die Nachkommen des Königs Dārā², (Sāsān² bis Sāsān⁸), den einfachen Beruf eines Hirten aus (16/163ff.; 21/65ff.); der letztere Sāsān, Vater des Ardašīr-i Bābakān, beginnt seine Karriere am Hofe Bābaks, des arsakidischen Statthalters zu Istaxr, als einfacher *muzdūr* (21/74); er wird aber bald wegen seiner guten Dienstleistung ein Šubān und bald darauf ein Hirtenführer (*saršubān* – *ibid.*; vgl. 43/ 445ff.); als solcher – und vor allem wegen seiner königlichen Abstammung – verheiratet Bābak seine Tochter mit Sāsān. Also dürfte das Amt eines königlichen Oberhirten gesellschaftlich wohl kein geringes Ansehen gehabt haben.

Unter den späten Sasaniden, so zur Regierungszeit Hurmuzd-i Nōšīrvāns, bestanden Gesetze für die Pferdewirtschaft, für steuerliche Abgaben oder Ersatzleistung für die Schäden, die durch Pferde z. B. im landwirtschaftlichen Bereich entstehen könnten. (42/239ff.; vgl. 12/ 458-481).¹⁸

¹³ Siehe Wolff (1935) s. v.

¹⁴ D.h. wohl 12000.

¹⁵ Siehe Wolff (1935), S. 58f, s. v. *asp*, Nr. 13-17; vgl. Horn (1907), S. 839f.

¹⁶ Vgl. EncIr (1987), S. 737ff. s. v. *Asb-Savārī*.

¹⁷ Die Hierarchie geht anscheinend von *muzdūr* („Tagelöhner“, 21/74) bzw. *kārgar* („erfahrener Arbeiter/ Stallknecht“, 21/76) über *čūbān/čūpān* („(Pferde-)Hirt“, 10/105; 13/179) und *šubān* („(Pferde-)Hirt“, 12d/1238 und 2647) zu *saršubān* und *aspdār* („Pferdehalter“, 15/672 und 675).

¹⁸ Näheres zu solchen Strafen siehe unten: „Verbundenheit mit Pferden“, Nr. 4.

REPRÄSENTATIVE PFERDE

Innerhalb der für bestimmte Zwecke gezüchteten Pferden stellen allerdings die repräsentativen Pferde einen eigenen Typus dar, sei es wegen ihrer erhabenen Rasse (*girānmāye*),¹⁹ wegen ihrer gut gebauten Figur, ihrer hervorragenden Eignung als Reit- oder Kampftier, ihrer schönen bzw. seltenen Farbe(n) oder wegen ihrer Frisur und nicht zuletzt auch ihren silbernen oder goldenen Ausstattungen und Ausschmückungen:

az aspān-i tāzī ba zarrīn sitām
Zehntausend Rosse mit goldnem Gebieß

vu rā būd pēvar ke burdand nām (4/97)
Hatt' er, den Namen schuf ihm dies. (Rü. I/22)

[besser:] Von arabischen Pferden mit goldenem Zaumzeug

besaß er (nämlich) zehntausend, die ihm den Namen eintrug.
Kr.Cr. 65

hame yāl-i aspān pur az mušk u mai
Moschus und Wein von den Mähnen floss,

parāganda dīnār dar zēr-i pai (6/186)
Und Goldstücke trat mit dem Huf das Ross. (Rü. I/80)

Iranische Großkönige, Provinzkönige, Stammesführer, Heerführer und Feldherren, kurz alle iranischen Großen und Helden zeichnen sich einmal mehr durch ihre besonderen, ja majestätischen Pferde aus. Solche Pferde werden einer sorgfältigen Pflege, einer strengen und zielgerichteten Dressur bzw. Schulung unterworfen und später je nach der Rangordnung bzw. den Verwendungszwecken der Käufer oder der Besitzer mit entsprechender Eignung, Rüstung, Frisur und Beschmückung zur Verfügung gestellt.²⁰ Die besten von ihnen bekamen sogar einen ihrem Erscheinungsbild oder Wesen entsprechenden Eigennamen, z.B. das außerordentliche, ja einzigartige Pferd des Rustam heißt Raxš bzw. Gulraxš („leuchtend/rosenfarbig leuchtend“, siehe Anhang) – auf dieses Mythos wird noch gesondert einzugehen sein. Ferner sind Gulgūn bzw. Gulrang („rosenfarbig/rot“, 5/336), Nīlgūn oder Nīlrang („blaufarbig“, 12c/714) und Pīlrang („elephanetenfarbig/grau“) die häufigsten Namen berühmter Pferde mehrerer Könige und Helden.²¹ Dēze bzw. Šabdēz („das Nächtliche“/ „Rappe“) ist der Name des schwarzen Pferdes von Bēžan im „Kampf der Elf Recken“. Šabdēz heißen auch das Pferd Mihrābs, des Königs von Kabul (7/1795), die Pferde der Könige Luhrāsp und Guštāsp und auch die berühmten Pferde der Sasanidenkönige Bahrām Gōr und Xusrau Parvēz. Šabrang bzw. Šabrang-i Behzād heißt das schwarze Pferd des Prinzen Siyāvuš (12d/2335ff.).²²

Nicht zuletzt gehören zu den hervorragenden Pferden auch solche, die für sportliche Unternehmungen gezüchtet wurden, z. B. fürs Polospiel (T. 3 und 4) oder für künstlerische Darbietungen (T. 5): Ein *sitār*-Spieler und sein – in der türkischen Miniatur dem Raxš nachgezeichnetes – tanzendes Pferd.

Wie sehr ein repräsentatives Pferd den gesellschaftlichen Stellenwert eines Reiters bzw. Prinzen symbolisieren bzw. unterstreichen kann, geht aus dem folgenden hervor (13g/2962-3005): Kurz vor dem Tod bestimmt Kai Xusrau zur Überraschung aller iranischen Großen den Statthalter Luhrāsp zum König von Iran. Zāl, gefolgt von allen iranischen Prinzen und Großen, protestiert deshalb beim König Kai Xusrau gegen diese Wahl und findet es eine Schande, einen Mann als König anzunehmen, der von niederer Herkunft und ohne Hab und Gut mit einem gewöhnlichen – also keinem repräsentativen – Pferd zu Zarasp gelaufen sei und sich erst durch die Statthalterschaft über die Alānān, die ihm Kai Xusrau antrug, einen Namen gemacht habe.

¹⁹ Siehe Wolff (1935), S. 58f., Nr. 16: s. v. *asp-i girānmāye*.

²⁰ Siehe Wolff (1935), S. 6ff., s. v. *ārāstan*, Nr. 3: *aspān-i ārāste*.

²¹ *Gulgūn* heißen z. B. das Pferd des iranischen Feldherren Gōdarz (13e/538 {466}), das des Turaniers Hōmān-i Vēse (12f/748), so heißen auch die Pferde der Könige Luhrāsp und Guštāsp (15/626) sowie das berühmte Pferd des Sasanidenkönigs Bahrām Gōr (35/962). A. Pollak merkt in seiner Schahname-Übersetzung an: (35/962, Anm. 31): „Gulgūn – Rosenfarb ist der Name des Pferdes; es ist aber ein Rappe“; anscheinend verwechselt Pollak dieses Pferd mit einem anderen berühmten Pferd Bahrām Gōrs, d. i. Šabdēz („das Nächtliche“). Auch in Niūāmīs *Xusrau wa Šīrīn* ist *Gulgūn* Name eines schnellen Pferdes, das die armenische Königin Šamīrā (= Mahīn Bānū) Šāpūr, dem Boten des Sasanidenkönigs Xusrau Parvēz, schenkt, damit dieser die Prinzessin Šīrīn von Madā'in nach Armenien zurückholt (XŠ 192/ 15-18). Šabdēz ist auch der Name eines weiteren uneinholbaren schwarzen Pferdes Šamīrās, das der Prinzessin Šīrīn überlassen wird, mit dem sie nach Madā'in zu Xusrau Parvēz reitet und mit dem später dieser von Madā'in über Aserbaidšchan in Richtung Armenien nach Muqān und Rūm flieht.

²² Šabāhang sowie Šabrang heißt auch das Pferd Bēžan im „Kampf der Elf Recken“; vgl. Horn (1907), S. 844f.

VERBUNDENHEIT MIT PFERDEN

Solidarität und persönliche Verbundenheit von Reitern mit ihren Pferden kennzeichnet die besondere Liebe, die die iranischen Helden und Könige ihren Pferden bis zu ihrem Tod zeigen. Im Šāhnāme gibt es viele Textstellen, die dieses enge Verhältnis von Mensch und Pferd dokumentieren, hier nur einige Beispiele dafür:

1. Vor seiner Ermordung spricht Siyāvōš zu seinem schwarzen Lieblingspferd Šabrang-i Behzād und weist es testamentarisch an (12d/2335ff.), es möge ihn bei seinen Mördern rächen und sich in der Folge von niemandem außer seinem – zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch ungeborenen – Sohn (= Kai Xusrau) wieder satteln lassen (13/715ff.).
2. Nach der Begegnung mit Bēžan flieht der tūrānische Held Tažāv vor ihm und nimmt seine wunderschöne Sklavin Ispnōy mit auf seinem Pferd. Aber auf dem Fluchtweg lässt Tažāv Ispnōy mit der Begründung, sie seien zu zweit für das Pferd zu schwer, im Stich und reitet allein weiter (13/1129ff.).
3. Firōd, Sohn des Siyāvuš, tötet die iranischen Helden Rēvnīz und Zarasp, wird aber beim letzten Kampf von Ruhhām und Bēžan tödlich verwundet; erschöpft und blutend erreicht er die Burg und kann noch kurz vor dem Tod seine Mutter Ġarīra vor der bevorstehenden Ausplünderung der Burg durch die Iraner warnen. Ġarīra folgt Firōds letztem verzweifelter Wunsch, setzt die Burg in Flammen, vernichtet ihre Schätze und alle Pferde Firōds, damit niemand sie erbeuten kann. Sie, ihre Zofen und alle Frauen und Sklavinnen Firōds begehen dann gemeinsam Selbstmord (13/811-916).
4. Auf die Anklage eines Gutsherrn hin erlegt der Sasanidenkönig Hurmuz, Sohn des Nōšīrvān, dem Prinzen Xusrau Parvēz für die Schäden, die sein schwarzes Lieblingspferd auf den Äckern eines Gutsherrn verursacht hat, eine harte Strafe auf. Xusrau soll auf Anordnung des Vaters dadurch leiden, dass man seinem Lieblingspferd die Ohren und den Schwanz abschneidet, und finanziell dadurch, dass der Prinz das beschädigte Feld des Gutsherrn mit Golddukaten zudecken muss. Nicht die Höhe der Goldstrafe als vielmehr dessen Verbundenheit und Solidarität mit seinem Pferd zwingt den Prinzen in die Knie, er entschuldigt sich mehrmals beim Vater und fleht ihn an, sein Pferd zu schonen – vergeblich. Die Strafe wird vollzogen (42/245ff.).

PFERDE ALS KRIEGS- BZW. TÖTUNGSMASCHINEN

Vom Einsatz von *asbān-i ġangī* bzw. *aspān-i nabard* („Kampfpferd“) im Krieg war schon die Rede. Im Šāhnāme wird aber auch über den Einsatz berittener sowie unberittener Pferde zur Vernichtung von Äckern des Feindes bzw. zur Verwüstung des feindlichen Landes berichtet, so z. B. beim Rachefeldzug Rustams gegen Tūrān (*kān-i Siyvōš*):

basā kišvarā kān ba pāy-i sutōr
Wie mancher wird von Rosses Huf

bakūband u gardad ba ġōy āb šōr (12d/1787)
Zertrampelt und das Wasser im Fluß ein Sumpf! (Rū. II/103)
[sic! Wohl: Wie viele Länder werden]

Feinde werden unter deren Hufeisen zertrampelt: Um den Mord am Sasaniden-König Ardašīr-i Šērō zu rächen, beauftragt die Königin Pūrānduxt ihren Heerführer, den Urheber des Mordes, nämlich Pērōz, aufzusuchen und zu ihr zu bringen. Auf Anordnung der Königin lässt man Pērōz von einem unberittenen Pferd töten (47/6ff.).

Zur Kriegsmaschinerie gehören auch eiserne Pferde: Um gegen die Elefanten des indischen Königs Fūr besser kämpfen zu können, lässt Iskandar für sein Heer mehr als tausend Reiter und Pferde aus Eisen herstellen, die mit Petroleum gefüllt waren; diese werden angezündet, um die Elefanten Fūr zu verscheuchen (20/585ff.).

Über weitere Einsatzformen von Pferden z. B. als Tragtier, Wächter oder Wegführer in den nächtlichen Ritten kann hier aus Platzgründen nicht mehr eingegangen werden.

PFERDE ALS MYTHOS

Im Bereich der Tiere gibt es im Šāhnāme zwei Mythen, die als rein iranische Mythen gelten: der „himmlische“ Vogel Sīmurġ und das „irdische“ Pferd Raxš. Während im Šāhnāme, auch in der neupersischen Literatur, die Legenden über Sīmurġ vor allem im Zusammenhang mit dem iranischen

Feldherrn Zāl, dem Vater Rustams, überliefert werden, sind die Überlieferungen über das iranische Pferdemythos Raxš untrennbar mit der Lebensgeschichte Rustams, des größten iranischen Helden aller Zeiten. Hier eine kurze Zusammenfassung des Beginns dieser Legende (10/91-136.): Im 11. Buch (Kai Qubād) verlangt der noch ganz junge, dennoch kampfstarke Rustam nach einem Pferd, das nicht nur ihm als jungem, dennoch ruhmreichen Held ebenbürtig und repräsentativ sein soll, sondern auch seine schwere Rüstung tragen muss:

yakē asp xʷāham kuṣā gurz-i man

Nun brauch' ich ein Roß, das die Keule mein

kašad bā čunīn farre u burz-i man. (10/89)

Trägt und die Gliedersäule mein. (Rü. I/284)

Es werden ihm daher viele Pferdeherden (wohl seines Vaters Zāl) aus Kābul und Zābul vorgeführt.²³

galah har čī budaš zi zābulsitān

Die Herden all aus Zabulistan

bayāvard u čandī zi kābulsitān (10/91)

Holt er, und viel' aus Kabulistan. (Rü. I/284)

Alle für ihn ausgesuchten Pferde können dem Handdruck Rustams nicht Stand halten und gehen in die Knie, bis er schließlich aus dem neu eingetroffenen Herd aus Kābul einen gut gewachsenen, rosenfarbigen Füllen (*gulrang*) mit Lasso bezwingt, der bislang niemandem gehörte und seit drei Jahren von niemandem gesattelt werden konnte. Man hatte es einfach *Raxš-i Rustam* genannt. Auf die Frage, was es kostet, sagt der Hirt zu Rustam, der es kaufen will: *Irans Leut' und Land ist sein Preis* (Rü. I/286). Raxš ist gut gebaut und *būr-i abraš* (rotweiß gesprenkelt, also ein Apfelschimmel) und *gulgūn/gulrang* („rosenfarbig“, 10/98-116). Rustam bekommt vom Hirten das Pferd als Geschenk (10/126-129) und sie sind von da an bis zu ihrem gemeinsamen Tod untrennbar.

Vor allem in den sieben gefährvollen Stationen Rustams (*haft xʷān-i rustam*, 12/297-952) zeigt das unübertreffliche Raxš sein außerordentliches Trag- und Ausdauervermögen, seine Klugheit und Scharfsicht auch in der Finsternis, seine Reit- und Kampfstärke und nicht zuletzt seine selbstständige kluge Handlungsfähigkeit. Es versteht die Sprache seines Herrn, der es z. B. wegen seiner Tollkühnheit beim Töten eines Löwen tadelt (12/316ff., T. 6-9).

Ständige Siege Rustams in unzähligen Feldzügen und Einzelaktionen wären ohne die heroischen Leistungen seines ständigen Begleiters Raxš nicht möglich gewesen; sie aufzuzählen würde den Rahmen dieses Beitrages sprengen (siehe T. 10-12).

Trotz zahlreicher heroischer Pferde der iranischen Größen, deren Namen oben genannt werden, hat kein Pferd je die Größe und den Ruhm des Raxš und auch kein Held die Stärke und den Ruhm Rustams erreicht. Für die Iraner war und ist bis heute Rustam das Sinnbild eines iranischen Helden und Raxš das eines Pferdes. Schicksalhaft endet das Leben der beiden Helden Rustam und Raxš gleichzeitig, hier eine kurze Zusammenfassung der Episode (15/4069-4330): Der König von Kabul, der mit Hilfe von Rustams Halbbruder Šagād auf dem Weg Rustams große Fallen mit scharfen Lanzen und Messern errichten hat lassen, reitet Rustam und dessen wenigen Begleitern entgegen und lockt diese unter dem scheinbar freundlichen Vorwand, gemeinsam mit ihnen auf einer schönen Weidenlandschaft bei Kabul auf eine feierliche Jagd zu gehen, in die Fallen. Rustam und sein Pferd Raxš, sein Bruder Zavāra und weitere Begleiter stürzen in die Fallen und werden tödlich verwundet. Noch vor dem Tod bittet Rustam seinen hinterlistigen Halbbruder Šagād, ihm Pfeil und Bogen in die Falle zu legen, damit er sich in der Grube wenigstens gegen Wildtiere wehren kann. Šagād, der dem sterbenden Bruder den letzten Wunsch nicht abschlagen kann, reicht ihm die Waffe. Die Intrigen des bösen Bruders durchschauend, tötet Rustam Šagād, der sich inzwischen aus Angst vor ihm hinter einen Baum versteckt hat, durch einen den Baumstamm durchbohrenden Pfeilschuss (15/4192ff. T. 13-14).

In der Folge lassen Zāl und Farāmarz, der Sohn Rustams, die Leichen von Rustam und Raxš aus dem Schacht bergen, sorgfältig waschen, deren Wunden nähen und in mit Rosenwasser, Moschus und Ambra gefüllten seidenen Leichentüchern in zwei Sarge legen. Begleitet von abertausenden Trauernden, die den Weg säumen, werden die Särge in 36 Stunden feierlich zu Fuß von Kābul nach Zābul getragen und in einem gemeinsamen Mausoleum bestattet, während ganz Iran über den Verlust der beiden Helden auf das Innigste trauert (15/4296ff.).

²³ Die Rückert'sche Übersetzung dieser Episode über Rustam und Raxš ist dem Beitrag angehängt, vgl. Horn (1907), S. 841f.

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Abkürzungen

- EncIr. Encyclopaedia Iranica (siehe Literaturverz.)
 K.-Cr. Kanus-Credé (siehe Literaturverz.)
 Poll. Pollak (siehe Literaturverz.)
 Rü. Rückert (siehe Literaturverz.)

ANHANG

Rostam fängt den Rachs
(Rückert 1890): Vol. 1, X/91-138)

Die Herden all aus Zabulistan
Holt' er, und viel' aus Zabulistan.
Alle vor Rostem wurden gebracht,
Der Herrn Brandzeichen nahm er in Acht.
So oft ein Roß nahm Rostem vor,
Drückt' er die Hand auf den Rücken ihm nur,
Von seiner Kraft bog's den Rücken auch,
Und auf der Erde lag's mit dem Bauch.
Endlich kam von Kabul ein Ruck
Gestüte von buntem Farbenschmuck.
Vorbei ging ihm eine Stute grau,
Leunbrünstig mit kurzem Schenkelbau,
Zwei Ohren glänzenden Dolchen gleich,
Die Schultern breit, schmal um die Weich'.
Nach ihr ein Füllen so hoch wie sie,
So breit an Brust und Bug wie sie;
Schwarzaugig mit einem Ochsenstern,
Schwarzhodig, wild mit Hufen wie Erz!
Sein Leib buntblumig um und an,
Wie Rosenblätter auf Safferan.
Als Rostem nah die Stute da
Und ihr elefantisches Füllen sah,
Wickelt' er seine Fangschnur auf,
Der alte Hirt sprach zu Rostem gekehrt:
„Herr, nimm kein Roß, das andern gehört!“
Rostem fragte: „Wes ist das Roß?“
Denn seine Schenkel sind brandzeichenlos.“
Sprach jener: „Sein Brandzeichen suche nicht!
Gar viel von diesem Tier man spricht.
Den Herrn von ihm nicht kennen wir,
Nur Rachs des Rostem ihn nennen wir.
Drei Jahre nun ist's sattelrecht,
Im Auge der Fürsten sein Wert ist nicht schlecht.
Doch sieht seine Mutter die Fangschnur ihm dräun,
So kommt sie und kämpft gleich einen Leun.
Hüte dich, o verständiger Mann,
Und greif' einen solchen Drachen nicht an!
Denn kommt diese Stute zum Kampf, so graut
Dem Löwen das Herz und dem Tiger die Haut.“
Als solchen Bescheid Gehemten fand,
Die Rede des alten er vol verstand.
Die Königsschnur warf Rostem und fing
Des Schecken Kopf unversehens im Ring.
Die Mutter kam wie ein Wildelefant,
Die Zähne gegen sein Haupt gewandt.

Da brüllte Rostem wie ein Leu,
Von seinem Laut ward die Stute scheu,
Er gab ins Genick ihr einen Schlag,
Daß sie zitternd am Boden lag;
Sie fiel, sprang auf und nahm den Lauf
Schnell von ihm hinweg zum übrigen Hauf.
Rostem stemmte den Fuß auf die Flur,
Und zog fester den Knoten der Schnur.
Die Arm' erhob er eines Recken,
Und drückt' eine Hand auf den Rücken des Schecken.
Der machte den Rücken vom Druck nich hol,
Gar nicht zu fühlen schien er ihn wol.
Bei sich sprach Rostem: „Das ist mein Sitz,
In die Schlacht kann ich reiten itzt.“
Er schwang sich darauf wie ein sausender Wind,
Das Rotroß ging unter ihm geschwind.
Er sprach zum Hirten: Der Drache hier,
Was gilt er? Wer sagt den Kaufpreis mir?
Er gab zur Antwort: „Bist Rostem du,
So reit' ihn und streite für Iran's Ruh.
Iran's Leut' und Land ist sein Preis;
Auf ihm mach' Ordnung im Erdenkreis!“
Von Lachen ward Rostems Mund ein' Korall“,
So sprach er: „Von Gott kommt Gutes all.“
Er sperrt' ihm den Saum auf und setzt ihn in Sprung,
Er sah, dass er Mut hat und Feuer und Schwung,
Vermag Helm und Panzer und Keule zu tragen,
Der Glieder Wuchs und des Wuchses Ragen.
Rachs sprang, wie Raute springt, die auf Glut
Man Nachts zu Zauberaabwehr tut.
Rechts schien er und links wie ,ne Fee zu hüpfen,
Übers Gefild wie ein Reh zu flüchten.
Weichgaumig, schäumend, folgsam der Hand,
Rundbackig, sanft von Gang voll Verstand.
Ein Ameisen schwarz auf dunklem Grunde
Säh' er auf Meilen zur Mitternachtsstunde.
Kamelhoch und elefantenstark,
Und mit Knochen voll Löwenmark.
Zal's Herz ward wie ein Frühling froh
Über den Rachs und den Reiter hoh.
Er tat den Schatz auf, das Gold er verstreut',
Und dachte nicht an morgen noch heut.
Dann auf Elefanten er Wirbel schlug,
Den Schall davon hörte man weit genug.

Some Considerations apropos of a Proto-Iranian Myth about Horses and its Significance for Ancient Iranian Socio-Cultural History

Antonio PANAINO¹

The economic importance of horses in early Iranian society has been variously focused on. This evidence becomes patent, for instance, thanks to the *Sprachgut* contained in the *onomastica Avestica* and *Persica*, both of which have been a consistent subject of investigation in Vienna, within the framework of one of the most important projects of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, but my colleague and friend Dr. Velizar Sadovski will soon write in detail on this argument.

The present contribution will deal with some aspects contained in one of the most beautiful myths attested in the *corpus* of the later Avestan hymns, and especially in the *Tištar Yašt*, the prayer of worship dedicated to the Star Sirius, in Avestan named Tištrya.²

In this contribution I cannot go into the general subject concerning the image of the horse in the framework of the Pre-Islamic Iranian culture, where it assumed a strong prestigious role. We may recall here that this animal was certainly important from the economic, military and religious point of view. In religious (but also sometimes political) contexts, horse sacrifices were performed according to Iranian as well as Western sources, which confirm the presence of ritual traditions and doctrines, more or less comparable with the Vedic *aśvamedha*.³

The Avestan hymn to Sirius is a very important source for our knowledge of the Old Iranian Celestial Mythology in which this star is represented as the rain-bringer. Tištrya is properly the Iranian protagonist of the myth of the liberation of the waters, like Indra in Vedic literature. In brief, the cosmic waters of the Sea Vourukaša are under the control of the demon Apaoša. Before fighting with this demon, Tištrya changes the shape of his own body into that of a young, fifteen-year-old man, then into that of a golden-horned bull, and finally into that of a beautiful white horse with golden ears and golden bridle. Each transformation takes a time span of ten days. At this point, in the form of a splendid white stallion, Tištrya goes down in the Sea Vourukaša and attacks Apaoša, which is described as a horrible, glabrous, black horse. Also in its turn, the Sea Vourukaša seems to assume the form of a mare, according to a possible interpretation of the Avestan text (*Yt.* 8, 8), which has been recently rejected by Ph. Swennen,⁴ but with arguments that I do not consider compelling at all. In fact, according to *Yt.* 8, 8,⁵ Tištrya approaches (*ācaraiti*) the bay (*vairīm*, acc. sg. m. of the stem *vairiia-*, m.) of the Sea Vourukaša, which is called *aspō.kəhrpəm ašaonīm*. The first compound and the following adjective are doubtless feminine and their presence is unclear. I have already discussed in detail⁶ the alternative grammatical interpretations of this peculiar passage, with the conclusion that any solution explaining such a *crux* simply by assuming a mistake (*e.g.* due to analogy in force of the termination of *vairīm* to which these forms should be connected), seems to me an abdication from the textual criticism of an intricate rhetorical and allusive construction. Swennen's crude textual emendation, which pretends to restore by divination an **aspō.kəhrpō *ašaouua* directly referred to Tištrya, has no support from the

¹ University of Bologna at Ravenna.

² See Panaino 1990a; 1995a.

³ Cf. Shahbazi 1987, with additional bibliography.

⁴ Swennen 2004: 283, 286, 369.

⁵ Panaino 1990a: 34.

⁶ Panaino 1990a: 99.

manuscript tradition,⁷ and in addition it does not take into consideration the fact that the compound *aspō.kəhrp-* is never attested in connection either with Tištrya or with any other *yazata-*, while, apart from this attestation, it occurs only in agreement with *āp-*, f., the “waters” in the sequence *apqm aspō.kəhrpqm*,⁸ which is very relevant for our interpretation of the passage. Contrariwise, the image of a horse running towards the expanse of the waters in a bay, which assumes “the shape of a pious mare”, clearly emphasizes the sexual and seminal action of the divine stallion running towards her, as Swennen himself recognizes when he writes: “Tištrya descend dans la mer, ce qui revient semble-t-il à dire qu’il s’accouple avec elle comme s’il s’agissait d’une jument”.⁹ Thus, finally my colleague in a paradoxical way endorses the same conclusion I suggested, but with a grammatical interpretation of the text which is in contrast with such a solution.

In any case, after a combat lasting three days and nights, Tištrya is defeated by the demon and runs away, bitterly lamenting his defeat. Then, he prays to Ahura Mazdā, and Ahura Mazdā offers a sacrifice in order to strengthen Sirius.¹⁰ Endowed with these new powers (the strength of ten horses, ten camels, ten bulls, ten mountains, ten channelled waters), Tištrya runs again towards the sea, ramping against Apaoša, and finally defeating him at midday; then, he frees the Sea Vourukaša and the waters there imprisoned. Finally, the clouds and the mists can rise from the sea and the wind (Vāta) and the star Satavaēsa (possibly the star Fomalhaut, α Piscis Austrini),¹¹ with the help of Apām Napāt, distributes the rains among the seven parts of the world, the seven *karšvar*-s. The second part of the *Tištār Yašt* is dedicated to another mythical story, to the struggle of Sirius, the leader of the fixed stars, against the Pairikās, the “witches”, also called *stārō.kərəmā*, “starred-worms”,¹² and, in particular, against the Pairikā Dužyāiryā “the bad-year witch”.¹³ I have supposed that these Pairikās represent in the astral dimension the shooting stars, which in the shape of “starred-worms” fall between the earth and the sky (*Yt.* 8, 8). Unfortunately, within the framework of Pahlavi literature, these sky demons do not play any significant role, but, for instance, we know from the *Bundahišn*, the Mūš Parīg, “the mouse witch” that is called *dumbōmand*, i.e., the “tailed one”. It has been commonly assumed that probably she was a sort of comet. If this explanation is correct, we may deduce that the Avestan cosmology presents us with an interesting concept: the fixed stars with their regular movement represented the comical order, while the shooting stars, comets or meteors in contrast were a celestial witness of disorder, famine and drought, a negative role later attributed to the planetary demons.¹⁴ This explanation fits perfectly with the Zoroastrian dualistic pattern. Furthermore, it is interesting to underline the fact that, according to the *Tištār Yašt*, st. 39, Sirius overcomes “the Pairikās whom Agra Mainyu flung with the intention to oppose all the stars, the originators of the rains”. Thus the special demoniac role of these astral bodies is confirmed against any possible doubt.

In order to be consistent within the framework of this conference I have to leave out any other additional consideration about the astronomical, cosmologic and, in later times, astrological significance of such a myth, a complex subject which I have investigated in other books and articles. As expected, I would like to insist on some problems more strictly linked with the main subject we are dealing with today. In fact, if some Avestan divine beings can assume the physical form of a horse, like Vərəθraγna and Druvāspā – the (generally less known) female divinity protecting the health of the horses, to whom another Avestan hymn, the *Druvāsp* (or *Gōš*) *Yašt* was dedicated¹⁵ – Tištrya is the most important *yazata* assuming such an animalistic aspect. We know, of course, that horses were particularly important also in the cult of Ahura Mazdā and especially of Miθra, in Eastern as well as in Western Iran, as Curtius Rufus also confirms, when

⁷ The only ms. variant is offered by K15, which inserts between *aspō.kəhrpqm* and *ašāonīm* another *aspō*.

⁸ Bartholomae 1904: 219.

⁹ Swennen 2004: 286.

¹⁰ Panaino 1997.

¹¹ Panaino forthcoming.

¹² Panaino 2005.

¹³ Panaino 1995b: *passim*; 1996.

¹⁴ Panaino 1995: 61-85; 1998, *passim*.

¹⁵ This *Yašt* is the ninth of the Avestan *corpus*, placed in the manuscript tradition (as in the calendrical hemeronymy) just after the one dedicated to Tištrya (*Yt.* 8). On this little hymn, Sara Circassia dedicated a master’s thesis at the University of Bologna.

he writes (*Historiarum Alexandri Magni*, III, 3, 3-11) with reference to the Magi: [...] *Currum deinde Iovi sacratum albentes vehebant equi: hos eximiae magnitudinis equus, quem Solis appellabant, sequebatur; aureae virgae et albae vestes regentes equos adornabant*. The reference to the chariot of Jupiter (Ohrmazd) and that to the *equus, quem Solis appellabant* (probably meaning Mihr), attest, together with some artistic representations documented in Persepolis, the importance of horses in the ceremonial and religious life of the Ancient Persians. The presence of these chariots reminds us that, according to *Yašt* 10, 125,¹⁶ four speedy white horses drew the chariot of Miθra as well as another four white horses, which drew the chariot of Sraoša (*Yasna* 57, 27-29).¹⁷ In any case, the literary cycle of Tištrya remains unique, because it presents us with a double fight between two horses for the conquest of the waters, probably associated with a mare. But it is better to offer to you the most relevant passages of the text.¹⁸

Yt. 8, 20

*āaṭ paiti auuāiti
spitama zaraθuštra
tištriiō raēuuā xʷarənaṇʰā
auui zraiiō vourukašəm
aspape kəhrpa aurušahe srīrahe
zairi.gaošahe zaraniio. aiβiḍānahe*

“Then, the bright xʷarənah-endowed Tištrya,
O Spitama Zaraθuštra,
goes down (?)
in the Sea Vourukaša
in the shape of a white horse, a beautiful one
with golden ears (and) with golden bridle.”

Yt. 8, 21

*ādim paiti.yqš nižduaraiti
daēuuō yō apaošō
aspape kəhrpa sāmahe
kauruuāhe kauruuō.gaošahe
kauruuāhe kauruuō.barəšahe
kauruuāhe kauruuō.dūmahe
dayahe aiβiḍātō.tarštōiš*

“Against him there rushes out
the demon Apaoša
in the shape of a black horse,
bald, bald-eared,
bald, bald-maned,
bald, bald-tailed,
glabrous, bridled in a terrible manner (?)”

Yt. 8, 22

*hqm tāciṭ bāzuš baratō
spitama zaraθuštra
tištriiasca raēuuā xʷarənaṇʰā
daēuuasca yō apaošō
tā yūidiiaθō spitama zaraθuštra
θri.aiiarəm θri.xšaparəm
ādim bauuaiti aiβi.aojā
ādim bauuaiti aiβi.vaniiā
daēuuō yō apaošō
tištrīm raēuuaptəm xʷarənaṇhuṇtəm*

“The two interwine (their) forelegs,
O Spitama Zaraθuštra,
the bright xʷarənah-endowed Tištrya
and the demon Apaoša.
The two are fighting, o Spitama Zaraθuštra,
for three days (and) three nights,
(but) the demon Apaoša
becomes superior to him,
becomes winner over him,
over the bright xʷarənah-endowed Tištrya.”

Yt. 8, 23

*apa dim adāṭ viieiti
zraiaṇhaṭ haca vourukašāṭ
hāθrō.masəṇhəm aḍβānəm
sādrəm uruištrəmca nimrūite
tištriiō raēuuā xʷarənaṇʰā [...]*

Then, he drives him away
from the Sea Vourukaša,
over a distance of the length of one *hāθra*.
“Defeat and retreat” wails
the bright xʷarənah-endowed Tištrya [...]

Yt. 8, 26

*āaṭ paiti auuāiti
spitama zaraθuštra
tištriiō raēuuā xʷarənaṇʰā
auui zraiiō vourukašəm [...]*

“Then, the bright xʷarənah-endowed Tištrya
goes down (?), O Spitama Zaraθuštra,
to the Sea Vourukaša”
[...]

¹⁶ Gershevitch 1967: 134-135.

¹⁷ Kreyenbroek 1985: 52-55.

¹⁸ See Panaino 1990: 46-53 (text and translation); 112-117 (commentary).

Yt. 8, 27 (= Yt. 8, 21).

Yt. 8, 28 (= Yt. 8, 22)

*tā yūidiiaθō zaraθuštra
ā rapiθβinām zruuānām
ādim bauuaiti aiβi.aojā
ādim bauuaiti aiβi.vaniiā
tištriio raēuuā x'arənaŋ'hā
daēuūm yim apaošəm*

“The two are fighting, o Zaraθuštra,
till the time of midday.
(But) the bright x'arənah-endowed Tištrya
becomes superior to him,
becomes winner over him,
over the demon Apaoša.”

Yt. 8, 29

*apa dim aḏāṭ viieiti
zraiiŋhaṭ haca vourukašaṭ
hāθrō.masəŋhəm aḏβānəm
uštātātəm *nimrūite
tištriio raēuuā x'arənaŋ'hā
[...].*

“Then, he drives him away
from the Sea Vourukaša
over a distance of a length of one hāθra.
“Good luck” exclaims
the bright x'arənah-endowed Tištrya.”
[...]

The myth contains some patterns that can be interpreted on various levels. First, we observe the repetition of the image of the fight between good and bad cosmic forces. In this case, also the colours attributed to the two horses are very pertinent: the “white” (*auruša-*)¹⁹ against the “black” one (*sāma-*). We may just recall that the image of the white-coloured Tištrya, considered the prototype of horses, was still maintained in Sasanian times, as Shahbazi²⁰ already noted. No doubt, in fact, that texts like *Mēnōg ī Xrad*, 60, 9 (*asp ī arus aspān rad* “the white horse is the chief of horses”)²¹ or *Iranian Bundahišn*, XVII, 6 (*fradom asp ī arus ī zard gōš ī šēd wars ī spēd čašm fraz brehēnīd ān ast aspān rad* “first the white horse, having yellow ears, with bright hairs and white eyes was fashioned forth; he is the chief of horses”),²² are referring to Tištar, although they do not explicitly mention him by name. In fact, the use of the adjective *arus* “white” (< Av. *auruša-*) and the other qualities attributed to this horse (*zard gōš* “having yellow ears”; *šēd wars* “with bright hairs”; *spēd čašm* “white eyes”) correspond to Tištrya’s physical features (*Yt. 8, 20* and *30*: *aspahe kəhrpa aurušahe* “in the shape of a white horse” *zairi.gaošahe* “with golden ears”; *Yt. 8, 13*:²³ *spiti.dōiθrahe* “with clear eyes”, but cf. also *Yt. 8, 12*: *druuō.cašmanəm* “sound-eyed”).

In its turn, the description of Apaoša in the shape of a black horse also deserves a closer analysis, because here we find some negative qualities attributed to an animal, which was presented as bald and glabrous, in contrast with the beauty of Tištrya. With close reference to this particular subject I would like to attract your attention to a little philological problem: Alexander Lubotsky, in the framework of a discussion dedicated to the Vedic compound *átikūlva-*, translated by him as “exceedingly thin-haired”,²⁴ suggests that the recurrent epithet of Apaoša, *kauruua-*, etymologically connected with Latin *caluus* (Old Latin *caluos*), does not mean “bald”, as normally translated, but more precisely “thin-haired”. He literally writes: “In *Yt. 8, 21*, the *daēuua* Apaoša comes down in the shape of a black horse, which is *kauruua-*, *kauruuō.gaoša-*, *kauruuō.barəša-*, and *kauruuō.dūma-* ‘thin-haired, with thin-haired ears, with a thin-haired mane, with a thin-haired tail’. Evidently, ‘bald mane’ and ‘bald tail’, which commonly appear in the translations, do not make sense”.

I seriously object to this argument for a number of reasons I would like to resume here: first, the suggested interpretation is based only on a conjecture derived from the contextual attestation of *átikūlva-*, but etymologically the direct relationship between Av. *kauruua-* and Lat. *caluus* cannot be ruled out. Second, if, according to Lubotsky, PII. **krH-ū a-* actually means “thin-haired”, nobody would deny that the epithets of Apaoša are in any case clearly negative. Then, we must assume as a logical inference that the “thin-hairedness” should be a negative quality for any horse. For this reason, I have consulted a colleague of mine

¹⁹ Panaino 1995: 1-14.

²⁰ 1987: 728.

²¹ Cf. Anklesaria 1913: 162.

²² Cf. Pakzad 2005: 222.

²³ But in this case, the epithet is referred to Tištrya in the shape of a fifteen-year-old young man. See Panaino 1990: 39.

²⁴ See Lubotsky 1997: 142 and n. 10.

at the University of Bologna, my friend Prof. Stefano Cinotti, a veterinary, expert in horses, asking him whether the presence of thin hairs can really be considered as a negative quality for horses. The answer was absolutely the opposite, as I suspected. A horse as the one described in the case of Apaoša, after Lubotsky's etymological explanation and translation, would become a fantastic stallion, in perfect health and of very high quality. This simple medical evidence can rule out Lubotsky's interpretation, because it is impossible that the Avestan composer(s) wanted to emphasize any good quality of Apaoša. Soundness and beauty are physical qualities we must expect in the case of Ahuric animals, not in the description of a demon. In this case, we can conclude that the old translation remains the correct one, and that a reference to a thin-haired animal actually does not offer any convincing advantage.

But, apart from these additional considerations, we should come back to the recurrent dualistic scheme of the Mazdean system, which is strongly applied in this context. In particular, if the sexual interpretation of this part of the myth, as a duel between two stallions for the possession of a mare, is fitting, we may also deduce that the Iranian cycle of the liberation of the waters – as different from the most important one attested in the Vedic tradition, where Indra fights against Vṛtra in order to free the waters, described as cows, – seems to preserve an earlier and more naturalistic event. The two supernatural forces, the divine and the devilish one, combat as two animals on the same level; the target is the female, the satisfaction of the sexual desire,²⁵ the fecundation of the mare, which, only thanks to the immersion of Tištrya in her, can grow and expand herself as a pregnant being, so distributing rains and waters to the Aryan lands and peoples. Furthermore, we must consider that in the Zoroastrian framework, one of the main aims of the devilish forces is to destroy life and also to prevent or stop physical generation and reproduction. In the antagonism played out by Apaoša, we can see another example of these Daēvic characteristics; in fact, the demon tries to push Tištrya away from the waters, thus preventing the sexual union of the white horse with the mare, but there is another element to be considered, the asymmetry in the behaviour of the two horses: the good horse, when he wins, descends into the waters (= copulation), while Apaoša, when he averts Tištrya, takes control over the Sea (= the mare), but does not enter it. Such a difference is not the result of a kind of taboo, but it could be explained as another witness of the a-spermatic and anti-fecund feature of the Iranian demons.

This interpretation of the myth sheds a new light on the importance of the horse in the early Iranian imaginary, which, notwithstanding the elaborate astralization of the cycle of Sirius, preserves a crude, dramatic and probably realistic description of a natural behaviour, re-arranged according to the mythopoetic competence and sensibility of the Avestan composers, but also in the framework of the dualistic opposition between “life” (*gaiia-*) and “impossibility of life” (*ajiiāiti-*), already stated in the *Gāthās* (Y. 30, 4).²⁶ For these reasons, I do not understand why Kellens, in a recent book,²⁷ was trying to raise a polemic with me, as if I had desired to hide or cover this crude side of the myth. The present contribution should clarify my position, which, nevertheless, is the same as when I wrote my dissertation in 1983 and edited the *Tištār Yašt* in 1990. The additional evidence that could be derived from this interpretation of the myth is manifold, and, at least in part, it can assume some relevance also for a socio-economic evaluation of the significance attributed to horses in the ancient Iranian civilization.

The idealization of the protagonist of the liberation of the waters, the star Sirius, imagined in the shape of a horse, not only confirms the importance of this animal in Old Iranian daily life, but shows also the symbolic (and concrete) relationship of horses to the strong presence of waters. Probably, the same myth with two camels would have assumed a different symbolic meaning. The role of the horses is more relevant if we consider that Vərəθraγna was, in his turn, described as a rutting camel, who in a state of rude excitation, jumps into the middle of a group of she-camels (see Yt. 14). This close relationship between horses and waters, in particular between the mare and the Vourukaša, seems to have been a tremendously fitting symbolic model for the peoples who created such a myth.

Although the Avestan tribes would have become semi-sedentary, their nomadic background was still in their minds and before their eyes. This, perhaps, may explain why, according to Herodotus 7.113, white

²⁵ We can find, on different grounds, the same interpretation in Jung 1970: 258.

²⁶ Panaino 2004: 94, 119-120.

²⁷ Kellens 2006: 115.

horses were still sacrificed by the Magi of Xerxes to the waters²⁸ (ἐς τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιερέοντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοῦς).

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²⁸ Cf. Markwart 1938: 88.

The Horses of the Shah: Some Remarks on the Organization of the Safavid Royal Stables, Mainly Based on Three Persian Handbooks of Administrative Practice

Giorgio ROTA¹

In Safavid Persia the horse was of course, as in many other parts of the Eurasian continent, one of the main means of locomotion. This is not to denigrate the camel, whose importance as a pack-animal in Persia is confirmed by the fact that the Safavid court possessed a Camel Department (*šotorxān*),² separated from the Royal stables (*eṣṭabl*) where horses, mules and cattle were kept.³ Besides being a status symbol,⁴ the horse was of primary importance for the army. The Safavid army was mainly based on cavalry: a consequence of this is that the emphasis on swiftness reduced the importance of artillery, which in turn brought about “accusations” of backwardness against Iran in things military. The main adversaries of the Safavids were the Shaybanids/Janids of Transoxania (also known as Uzbeks) and the Ottomans. The Uzbeks too relied mainly on cavalry, although they had units of musketeers who fought on foot but probably moved on horseback, much like early European dragoons.⁵ The Ottomans are possibly best known (at least at a popular level) for their Janissaries (who moved and fought on foot) and their employment of artillery, but the bulk of their army (at least in the period of their wars against the Safavids, that is, until 1639) was also made up of

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² Vladimir Minorsky (ed. and tr.), *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk: A Manual of Šafavid Administration* (Cambridge: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 1943) (reprinted 1980), pp. 50, 67-68, 99, 138; Mirzā ‘Alī Naqī Naširi, Yusof Raḥimlu (ed.), *Alqāb va mavājeḥ-e dowre-ye salāṭin-e šafaviye* (Mašhad: Entešārāt-e Dānešgāh-e Ferdowsi, 1371), p. 70; Muhammad Ismail Marcinkowski (ed. and tr.), *Mīrzā Rafī‘ā’s Dastūr al-Mulūk: A Manual of Later Šafavid Administration* (Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 2002), pp. 199, 372-373. Since the present article is mainly meant as a sort of summary of the information offered by these three manuals, I abstained as much as possible from making use of other Persian and, above all, Western primary sources.

³ The sources mention the presence in the Royal stables of cattle (*davābb*), sent from the provinces as presents: cf. *Tadhkirat*, p. 52; *Dastūr*, pp. 124 and 320. Possibly these animals were used to feed the court and its personnel.

⁴ After about 1630, horses played a ceremonial role on the occasion of the reception of foreign envoys at the so-called Tālār-e ṭavile. The guests had to reach the audience hall passing through two rows of elegantly-dressed soldiers, richly-caparisoned horses and exotic wild beasts. One wonders whether the presence of the horses was connected to the name of the palace (“Stable Hall”), which may have been built on the spot where the stables of the Royal palace of Eṣfahān were formerly located. On the palace, cf. Willem Floor, “The Talar-i Tavila or Hall of Stables, a Forgotten Safavid Palace”, *Muqarnas*, 19 (2002), pp. 149-163; cf. also *Dastūr*, p. 167. According to Jean Chardin there were actually three stables in Eṣfahān, where the horses of the Shah were lodged according to their price: cf. *Tadhkirat*, n. 6 p. 88. In 1539, Michele Membr, saw the stables of the Royal camp in Azerbaijan: cf. idem, Giorgio R. Cardona (ed.), *Relazione di Persia (1542)* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1969), p. 29. It is reasonable to assume that there were stables also in the Royal palaces of Qazvin, Farāḥābād and Ašraf.

⁵ On the Safavid attitude towards fire weapons and cannon in particular, cf. Rudi Matthee, “Unwalled Cities and Restless Nomads: Firearms and Artillery in Safavid Iran”, in Charles Melville (ed.), *Safavid Persia* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1996), pp. 389-416 (p. 406 on the Uzbeks); Willem Floor, *Safavid Government Institutions* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2001), pp. 176-199 and 222-236 in particular. Cf. also Robert Elgood, *Firearms of the Islamic World in the Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1995), pp. 113-120; Rudi Matthee, “Firearms I. History”, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, IX, pp. 619-623; Kenneth Chase, *Firearms: A Global History to 1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 115-127. An Uzbek prisoner, Dusti Beyg, told Pietro della Valle in 1618 that the Uzbeks had muskets and cannon, but that they were reluctant to employ them in order not to reduce the mobility of their forces. As a consequence, however, he found the Safavid musketeers to be “superior” to the Uzbek cavalry in pitched battles (*battaglie formate*): cf. *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle* (Brighton: G. Gancia, 1843), pp. 625-626. Dusti Beyg is one and the same with the Dustom Mirzā mentioned by Eskandar Beg Monshi, Roger M. Savory (ed.), *History of Shah ‘Abbas the Great*, 2 vols. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978), II, pp. 1145-1146; Eskandar Beyg Torkmān, Iraj Afšār (ed.), *Tārix-e ‘ālamārā-ye ‘abbāsi*, 2 vols. (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1334-1335), II, p. 927.

cavalry.⁶ A mounted army enabled the Safavids to counter successfully both the mobility of the Uzbeks and the superior firepower of the Ottomans – in this latter case, thanks to the systematic use of strategic withdrawal, guerrilla and scorched-earth tactics. Preventing an Ottoman invading army from feeding its soldiers, pack animals and war horses was a cornerstone of Safavid warfare and, as simple a tactic as it was, it worked in a remarkably successful way.⁷

Unfortunately (as remarked for instance by Prof. Fragner in his paper⁸), in spite of their importance we do not know much about horses in Safavid Persia. This is partly due to the nature of the sources at our disposal. Those which are best known (and mostly exploited by scholars) are historical chronicles which focus mainly on the ruler, the life of the Court and the main political and military events of the period. There is nothing comparable to the large *furūsiyah* literature existing in the Arabic language, at least to the best of our current knowledge.⁹ There is still a relatively large number of documents of a private nature, some historical chronicles and other written texts of a various nature which are still untapped by scholars,¹⁰ but most likely they will not change dramatically our knowledge on the subject. Of course, we might one day come across the register of the transactions of a Safavid horse-dealer, or a handbook on military drill for horses and horsemen, but this would be a matter of sheer luck and it would remain a drop in the ocean anyway. However, the Afghan invasion of Persia and the subsequent collapse of the Safavid dynasty in 1722 caused the production of at least three handbooks on administrative practice (the above-mentioned *Tazkerat* 'l-*moluk*, the *Dastur* 'l-*moluk* and the so-called *Alqāb va mavāḡeb-e dowre-ye salāḡin-e šafaviye*), which help us to shed some light on the issue of the supply of horses to the Court. Unfortunately their usefulness is limited by the fact that two of them (*Tazkerat* and *Dastur*) are closely related to each other, and all three were penned, or at least completed, in the 1720s, thus probably mirroring the professional experience of the authors and the administrative situation of the kingdom as it was during the reign of Šāh Solḡān Ḥoseyn (1694–1722).¹¹ It is on these three handbooks that the present paper is mostly based.

In Safavid Iran, there were two officials responsible for the breeding and the supply of horses to the Court (and, in part, to the army). The *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* was posted at Court, or, as his title rhetorically said, at the very “horse-bridle” of the Shah. He supervised the Royal stables and their personnel, and of course the

⁶ Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare, 1500–1700* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1999), pp. 35–49; Chase, *Firearms*, pp. 86–98. On Ottoman artillery, cf. of course Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁷ In their contributions to the present volume, Prof. Veit reported a Mongol traditional saying about the necessity of providing for one's horse's food before starting a journey, and both Prof. Smith and Prof. Gommans reminded us that horses used to living in a stable need a lot of care and food in order to survive in the open, and therefore a huge logistic apparatus.

⁸ Cf. Prof. Fragner's article in the present volume.

⁹ On *furūsiyah* literature in Arabic, cf. Shihab al-Sarraf, “Mamluk *Furūsiyah* Literature and Its Antecedents”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8,1 (2004), pp. 141–200. Nothing as extensive seems to exist in Persian as far as military training and tactics are concerned, with at least one notable exception: cf. C. E. Bosworth, “Ādāb al-ḡarb wa'l-šaiā'a”, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, I, p. 445. For a partial list of treatises on horses and horsemanship in Persian (a genre also belonging to *furūsiyah* literature), cf. Iraj Afšār, “Faras-nāma”, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, IX, pp. 243–244.

¹⁰ Cf. for instance Mansur Sefatgol, “*Majmū'ah 'hā*: Important and Unknown Sources of Historiography of Iran during the Last Safavids”, in Nobuaki Kondo (ed.), *Persian Documents: Social History of Iran and Turan in the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries*, (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 73–83.

¹¹ *Tadhkirat*, pp. 10–11; *Alqāb*, pp. *pānzdah-šānzdah*; *Dastūr*, pp. 46–50. Unfortunately I could not avail myself of the new and more complete edition of *Dastūr* made by Prof. Iraj Afšār. However, the text of the missing part of *Dastūr* published by Prof. Afšār is translated in M. Ismail Marcinkowski, “The *Dastūr ol-Molūk* Again. Recently discovered additions to the manuscript of Mirzā Rafī'ā's Manual of Šafavid Administration”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 157, 2 (2007), pp. 401–413. Sefatgol, “*Majmū'ah 'hā*”, p. 76 mentions the existence of a still unpublished treatise entitled *Resāle-ye alqāb* or *Zeyl-e resāle-ye alqāb*, which seems to be a fourth handbook of this kind and which could add significantly to our knowledge of Safavid administration. Furthermore, the administrative sources themselves mention the existence of “books of regulations” (*dasturo 'l-'amal*) compiled under earlier rulers, none of which has been found yet by modern scholars: cf. *Tadhkirat*, pp. 77, 143–144, 176; *Alqāb*, pp. 10, 47; *Dastūr*, pp. 28, 206, 288–289. Finally, a long list of department chiefs and other officials in the service of the Safavid court (including only one *amirāxworbāši*) is to be found in Birgitt Hoffmann, *Persische Geschichte 1694–1835 erlebt, erinnert und erfunden. Das Rustam at-tawārīè in deutscher Bearbeitung*, 2 vols. (Bamberg: Aku Verlag, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 224–231.

mounts of the Shah.¹² His almost namesake, the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā* supervised the farms (or *ilxi*, “herds”), located in different parts of Persia, which bred the horses which were to be supplied to the court or to the army. He also resided at Court, but he may not have enjoyed continued proximity to the Shah since he was supposed to inspect the *ilxis* once a year, which would have obliged him to spend a certain amount of time away from the Court (according to the sources, but we do not know how many such farms there were in Persia at any given time).¹³ This may be more theory than practice, however, and in any case it is only part of the general picture.

The three handbooks of Safavid administration differ as to which group of court officials the two *amirāxworbāšis* were to be included in. According to the *Tazkerat* and the *Dastur*, they were both among those emirs who bore the title of *‘ālijāh*, that is, among the most important civil and military officials of the Safavid state.¹⁴ Both Minorsky and Marcinkowski remarked that several European travellers did not note the existence of two different *amirāxworbāšis*.¹⁵ Perhaps this happened because (as I suggested above) he was frequently, or mostly, absent from the Court, or perhaps because during their time the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* performed the duties of both. *Alqāb* lists the two officials in two different groups: the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* among courtiers mostly bearing/carrying the titles of *‘ālijāh* and *moqarrabo’l-xāqān*, the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā* in a different and apparently less important group. The full title of the former is given as *refat va eqbāl-panāh ‘ālijāh moqarrabo’l-xāqāni nezāman le’r-refat va’l-eqbāl*, the latter’s as *refat va ma’āli-panāh ‘ezzāt va ‘avāli dastgāh moqarrabo’l-ḥaḡrat al-‘āliyye al-‘āliyye nezāman le’r-refat va’l-ma’āli*.¹⁶ At court, the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* was supposed to sit to the left of the Shah, “below” (*pāyintar*) the *amiršekārbāši*, while the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā* was to sit to the left of the “most noble slaves” (*bandegān-e ašraf*), “below” the *mohrdār-e mohr-e mobārak-e homāyun*.¹⁷ Such discrepancies remind us that Safavid palace organization and central administration were not, of course, static and immutable entities but (like any other similar body) were subject to changes dictated by practical experience, political and economic expediency and, sometimes, the personal influence and prestige enjoyed by the holder of a given office.¹⁸ In any case, according to all three handbooks, the salary of the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā* was lower than *amirāxworbāši-e jelow*’s, a clear sign of the lower prestige of his office.¹⁹

Both *amirāxworbāšis* were the chiefs of rather elaborate structures, which must have involved large staffs. In particular, under the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā* we find an unspecified number of *bolukbāšis*, *ilxičis*, *dāyčis* and *amirāxworān-e sarkār-e xāsše-ye šarife*, “to whom the colts of the horses of the Shah are entrusted”.²⁰ Besides the *amirāxwors* and the *bolukbāšis*, *Dastur* mentions also the *gallebāns* (“shepherds”), who were also part of the personnel of the stud farms but seemingly fell under the exclusive authority of the *nāzer-e davābb*, a sort of Inspector General of the animals, whose responsibility certainly extended to camels and sheep (besides horses and cattle, as his title says) and whose salary seems to have been higher (at least in its basic amount) than that of the *amirāxworbāši* himself.²¹ It is interesting to note that, although the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā* was the chief of the “department of the breeding-farms”, his appointments of

¹² *Tadhkirat*, pp. 52, 120; *Alqāb*, p. 26; *Dastūr*, pp. 124-125, 319-320.

¹³ *Tadhkirat*, pp. 52, 120-121; *Alqāb*, pp. 37-38; *Dastūr*, pp. 132-133, 326. The *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā* was also called sometimes *amirāxworbāši-e ilxi*: cf. for instance *Dastūr*, pp. 113-114, 196, 449, 531.

¹⁴ *Tadhkirat*, p. 52; *Dastūr*, pp. 89, 124, 132. *Dastūr* gives the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā* also the title of *moqarrabo’l-xāqān*.

¹⁵ *Tadhkirat*, p. 121; *Dastūr*, pp. 319-320.

¹⁶ *Alqāb*, pp. 26, 37.

¹⁷ *Alqāb*, pp. 26, 38.

¹⁸ For instance, *Alqāb*, pp. 37-38 states that “some” (*ba’zi*) *amirāxworbāši-e šahrās* were styled *moqarrabo’l-xāqān* instead of *moqarrabo’l-ḥaḡrat*, and that ‘Abdollāh Beyg Zangane, when he was appointed to the post under Šāh Solṭān Ḥoseyn, received the *laqab* of *refat va eqbāl-panāh ‘ālijāh moqarrabo’l-xāqāni šehāban le’r-refat va’l-eqbāl* out of respect for his brother the Grand Vizier, Šāhqli Xān.

¹⁹ *Tadhkirat*, p. 87; *Alqāb*, pp. 26, 38; *Dastūr*, pp. 125-126, 133. The sum of 2,000 *tumāns* in *rosumāt* which supposedly was also part of the yearly income of the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā* according to *Alqāb*, p. 38 must be a mistake.

²⁰ *Alqāb*, p. 38.

²¹ *Dastūr*, pp. 133, 196, 531. On the *nāzer-e davābb*, cf. *Tadhkirat*, pp. 52, 88, 121, 138; *Dastūr*, pp. 132-133, 195-196, 365. *Alqāb* (whose only known copy is not complete) does not mention the *nāzer-e davābb*. Information on the salaries of the *nāzer-e davābb* and of the two *amirāxworbāšis* is also incomplete and to some extent contradictory.

personnel needed to be countersigned by the *nāẓer-e davābb*. *Tazkerat* adds to the list the *mehtarān-e bolukāt-e xāṣṣe*.²² As far as the particular competencies of the different members of the staff of the stud farms are concerned, the *amirāxwors* were clearly stable-masters, who (judging from their title) must have performed the same duties as the *amirāxworbāšis*, only in one single breeding-farm,²³ while the *bolukbāšis* were a sort of district chief.²⁴ It is interesting to remark that the words *ilxiči* and *dāyči* are not included in the monumental dictionary of the Persian language, the *Loġatnāme-ye Dehxodā*, which testifies to the difficulty of engaging in the study of mundane issues such as, for instance, the organization of a Royal horse breeding farm on the basis of Persian written sources. However, another monumental work lists Turkic *tāy*, “one- or two-years-old foal”: we can then assume that the *dāyčis* were the personnel in charge of colts and fillies.²⁵ As for the *ilxiči*, one may suppose, also on the basis of the Russian translation of the term provided by one of Doerfer’s sources (*tabunščik*), that he was a sort of herdsman, a “cowboy” or *gaucho* working (and perhaps living) in close contact with the herds (*ilxi*).²⁶ The role of the *mehtarān-e bolukāt-e xāṣṣe*, which Minorsky translated as “grooms of the districts belonging to the Private Household”, remains open to guesswork. In any case, in spite of the limited conclusions we can draw from an analysis of the official terminology in use at the time, the exact details of the duties of these different categories of personnel (as well as their numbers) still escape us. The author of *Alqāb* states that the establishment of the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā* was “very large” (*besiyār vasi*) and his job “important” (*xatir*). Each year he inspected the royal herds, took notice of “the births and the miscarriages” (*netāj va esqāl*) of the animals and assessed their needs (fodder, for instance) together with the *nāẓer-e davābb* and the *mošref-e ilxi*, or Inspector of the Royal herds.²⁷ The *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā* was also responsible for the branding of the horses.²⁸ *Dastūr* adds that he shared this responsibility with the *nāẓer-e davābb*, the *mošref-e ilxi* and the *išikāqāsibāši-e divān*.²⁹ However, the same source also claims that every year the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā*, the *išikāqāsibāši-e divān* and the *nāẓer-e davābb* would each appoint a representative, and that it was these three men who would actually visit the breeding farms and supervise the branding of the foals together with the *mošref-e ilxi*.³⁰

In his turn, the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* was responsible for the branding of the horses and the mules which arrived into the Royal stables as *piškeš*.³¹ The author of *Alqāb* lists horse-tamers (*rāyezān*), “grooms” (*jelowdārān*), horse-trainers (*sāyesān*) and muleteers (*qāṭerčiyān*) as being under the orders of the

²² *Tadhkirat*, pp. 87, 87 (Persian text).

²³ It was the *amirāxwors* who, in 1629, led 3,000 foals (*korre*) from the herds of the region of Hamadān to the Shah, who was at the time in the same city: cf. Moḥammad Ma’šum b. Xwājegi Ešfahāni, Iraj Afšār (ed.), *Xolāṣato’s-siyar* (Tehran: ‘Elmi, 1368), p. 70.

²⁴ Marcinkowski translated *amirāxworān* as “stable masters” and “masters of the horses”, *bolukbāšiyān* as “chief grooms” and “district-chiefs” and *bolukāt* (cf. *ibidem*, p. 579 and *passim*) as both “attached districts” and “meadows”. I translate *boluk* as “district” (and, therefore, *bolukbāši* as “district chief”) mainly on the basis of Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1963-1975), II, pp. 323-326. Cf. also Ann K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 425; *Alqāb*, p. 114. These *boluks* were presumably the “districts” were the grazing-grounds for the horses were located.

²⁵ Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, II, p. 444. Cf. also *Alqāb*, p. 119, s. v. *dāy*.

²⁶ Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, II, pp. 209-210 (*ilxi*) and 210 (*ilxiči*).

²⁷ *Tadhkirat*, p. 52; *Alqāb*, p. 38; *Dastūr*, pp. 132-133. *Alqāb* does not mention the *mošref-e ilxi* either.

²⁸ *Alqāb*, p. 38.

²⁹ *Dastūr*, p. 196. On the *išikāqāsibāši-e divān*, cf. *Tadhkirat*, pp. 47-48, 86-87, 118; *Alqāb*, pp. 16-19; *Dastūr*, pp. 110-114, 310-311.

³⁰ *Dastūr*, pp. 113-114, 449. In fact, it seems unlikely that, given his numerous and important duties, the *išikāqāsibāši-e divān* could afford (and were willing) to leave the Court for long periods of time in order to visit remote breeding farms scattered throughout the kingdom, and thus the appointment of a deputy would have been an obvious choice. In this case, it is possible that the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā* and the *nāẓer-e davābb* would have felt demoted by having to cooperate with somebody of inferior rank, or that they simply used it as a pretext not to displace themselves from the capital city: hence the appointment of two more deputies. An episode involving the presence of such deputies can be found in Mir Moḥammad Sa’id Mošizi Bardsiri, Moḥammad Ebrāhīm Bāstāni Pārizi (ed.), *Tazkere-ye šafaviye-ye Kermān* (Tehran: Našr-e ‘elm, 1369), p. 437, which mentions a visit of the *vazir* of Kermān to what seems to be a stud farm for Royal camels in 1086/1675-76. The *vazir* inspected the animals in the presence of the representatives of the *išikāqāsibāši-e divān* and of the *nāẓer-e davābb* (the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā* or his deputy were not involved for obvious reasons).

³¹ *Alqāb*, p. 26.

amirāxworbāši-e jelow, but unfortunately he contents himself with saying that their number “changed from time to time”.³² As subordinates of the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow*, *Tazkerat* and *Dastur* mention *amirāxworān* (“marshals” or “masters of the horses” in the translations of Minorsky and Marcinkowski, respectively),³³ *mehtarān* (“grooms” or “menials”), *saqāyān* (water-carriers), *jelowdārān-e xāšše* (“grooms”), *xādemān* (“servants”), *xwājesarāyān* (“domestics”),³⁴ *gōlāmān* (“slaves”),³⁵ *sāyer-e ‘amale-ye eṣṭabl* (the “lower staff” or “other stable workers”, perhaps meaning unskilled workers with generic duties), *beyṭārān* (veterinaries) and *na’lbandān* (“farriers” or “blacksmiths”).³⁶ The newly-discovered portion of *Dastur* mentions also the *rāyezbāši* and the *mehtarbāši*. Marcinkowski translates the first term as “head of the [horse-] trainers” (whose task was to render the horses “gentle and calm and thus prepared to be ridden by the Emperor”),³⁷ and the second as “head of the grooms of the large riding animals of the Crown Department”.³⁸ *Tazkerat* and *Dastur* do not provide any figure either, but, in any case, they were “un nombre presque infini de gens” according to Jean Chardin.³⁹ The competencies of the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* in the matter of appointments and salaries seem to have been similar and parallel to those of the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā*. The appointment of the members of the staff of both the *amirāxworbāšis* and the payment of their salaries depended on the latter’s approval. Yet it is interesting to remark that, at least as far as the payment of the subordinates is concerned, the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* needed the ultimate approval of the *nāẓer-e boyutāt*, who was (among other things) the chief of the workshops of the Royal palace and oversaw their production and needs.⁴⁰ The

³² *Alqāb*, p. 26. I assume that the *rāyezān* and the *sāyesān* played different roles, although the difference between the two is not immediately apparent from the explanations given by the sources. Perhaps the former were concerned only with the taming of the horses, whereas training proper was left to the latter: cf. *Alqāb*, pp. 120 and 121; *Loḡatnāme-ye Dehxodā*, s. vv.; ‘asan Anvari, *Farhang-e bozorg-e soxan*, 8 vols. (Tehran: Soxan, 1381), s. vv.

³³ Manučeḥr Sotude, “Raḡamhā-ye divāni-e beyglarbeygi-e Astarābād”, *Farhang-e Irānzamin*, 26 (1365): pp. 390-391 offers the summary of an order concerning a certain ĩeyx Moḡammad Beygā *rāyez-e ‘arab*: Sotude states that he was appointed *amirāxworbāši* at the Royal court with a salary (*mavājeḥ-e ḡokmi*) of 12 *tumān* and explains (perhaps on the basis of the word *rāyez*) that he was “responsible for the training of the horses of the Royal stables”. However, the salary allotted to ĩeyx Moḡammad Beygā is too low for a Royal *amirāxworbāši* and corresponds rather to the salary of a *šāḡebjam*: cf. *Tadhkirat*, p. 100; *Dastūr*, p. 231; see also below. Therefore, ĩeyx Moḡammad Beygā must have been a simple *amirāxwor* or a *šāḡebjam-e eṣṭabl*. The document is undated but according to Sotude it dates back to the Safavid period: cf. idem, “Raḡamhā-ye divāni”, p. 388. On the meaning of *rāyez* see above, n. 31, and below.

³⁴ *Dastūr*, p. 124. Minorsky too translated *xādemān* va *xwājesarāyān* as “servants”, but he seems to have doubted his own translation, since he glossed it with the words “hardly eunuchs? ”: cf. *Tadhkirat*, p. 52. However, *Alqāb*, pp. 1-2 and *Dastūr*, pp. 142-143, 478 (neither of them available to Minorsky) show that white and black eunuchs (*xwājesarāyān*) would in fact fulfill a number of different duties at Court. Eunuchs presumably played a role in the Royal stables when the women of the harem were to go out for a ride, for instance securing the stables as a *qoruq* and helping and escorting the ladies before, during and after the ride itself. “*Qūrūq* was declared whenever the shah went out riding with his female retinue. It entailed the ban for all males above six to be in the vicinity of the route taken by the shah. This meant not just that the streets had to be cleared but that all men had to leave their houses and move to a different part of town for the duration of the shah’s outing”: cf. Rudi Matthee, “A Sugar Banquet for the Shah: Anglo-Dutch Competition at the Iranian Court of Šāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1694-1722)”, *Eurasian Studies*, 1-2 (2006) (Michele Bernardini, Masashi Haneda and Maria Szuppe (eds.), *Liber Amicorum. Etudes sur l’Iran médiéval et moderne offertes à Jean Calmard*), p. 206, n. 33. On the general meaning of the word, cf. also Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, III, pp. 444-450 (*qoruq*) and 451-452 (*qoruqčī*).

³⁵ *Dastūr*, p. 124. Given the technical nature of the text, however, the term probably indicates military slaves (*gōlāmān-e xāšše-ye šarife*), rather than slaves in the general sense of the word. In fact, *Tadhkirat*, p. 52 maintains the original *gōlāmān*.

³⁶ *Tadhkirat*, pp. 52, 23 (Persian text); *Dastūr*, pp. 124-126, 460. As one can easily see, not only is the information provided by the sources on the composition of the staff of the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* probably incomplete, but the translation of the relevant terminology into English is somewhat contrasting and vague.

³⁷ Marcinkowski, “The *Dastūr ol-Molūk* Again”, p. 402. Cf. above, nn. 31 and 32 on the likely meaning of *rāyez*.

³⁸ Marcinkowski, “The *Dastūr ol-Molūk* Again”, p. 404. The duties of the *mehtarān* of the Court stables were presumably similar to those of the *mehtarān-e bolukāt-e xāšše*, mentioned by *Tazkerat*: cf. above, n. 21. On the other hand, the fact that the “horse-clothes and -trappings and other things which were required by horses” were entrusted to the *mehtarbāši* seems to point to a direct functional connection between him and the *šāḡebjam-e anbār*: cf. below, n. 42.

³⁹ Quoted by *Tadhkirat*, p. 120.

⁴⁰ On the *nāẓer-e boyutāt*, cf. *Tadhkirat*, pp. 48-50, 118-119; *Alqāb*, pp. 20-22; *Dastūr*, pp. 115-118, 312-314. On the *boyutāt* (the so-called workshops) of the Royal palace, cf. also Birgitt Hoffmann, “*Boyutāt-e salṭanati*”, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, IV, pp. 421-423.

administrative sources do not mention explicitly such a connection between the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā* and the *nāẓer-e boyutāt*: however, *Alqāb* states that all the *šāhebjam*'s and the workers (*ʿamale*) of the Royal workshops as well as the workers of the stud farms (*ʿamale-ye ilxi*) were subordinated to the *nāẓer-e boyutāt*, without whose approval they could be neither hired nor paid.⁴¹ It would not be surprising if the jurisdiction of the *nāẓer-e boyutāt* extended also to the stud farms in the provinces, which supplied horses to the Royal stables, since it was his responsibility to provide all sorts of goods and raw materials necessary to the satisfactory functioning of the Royal palace. In this capacity, it was again him who was in charge of providing the stables with barley and straw.⁴² However, the man in charge of materially keeping and storing the fodder and all the materials and tools necessary to the life of the stables was the chief of another workshop of the Royal Household, that is, the *šāhebjam-e anbār*,⁴³ which points to the existence of some connection not only between the latter and the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* (as already noted by Minorsky), but perhaps also between him and the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā*. The sources do not show the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* (or his colleague, the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā*) as hierarchically subordinated to the *nāẓer-e boyutāt*, but *Tazkerat* states quite obscurely that the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* “is connected” or “pertains” (*taʿalloq dārad*) to the *nāẓer-e boyutāt*.⁴⁴ Of course the latter, who often was an *amir*, could not discharge his manifold and complex duties alone and without the help of bureaucrats: these professionals were the *vazīr-e boyutāt* and the *mostowfi-e arbāb-e taḥāvil*, who were responsible for checking all the expenditures made on account of the Royal workshop. Briefly, most of the work of the former consisted of examining the documents issued daily by the *mošrefs* of each single workshop concerning its expenditures (including the salaries) and all the cash and goods supplied to the workshop itself or paid for by the Royal Treasury, and then submitting them to the *nāẓer-e boyutāt* for the necessary approval and endorsement. Once these documents had been approved and duly sealed by the latter, they went to the *mostowfi-e arbāb-e taḥāvil* for the final auditing.⁴⁵ Although the *mostowfi-e arbāb-e taḥāvil* and the *vazīr-e boyutāt* were by no means exclusively responsible for the stables or even only the workshops, it is interesting to note that the *mostowfi* drew part of his income from fees (*rosumāt*) both somehow connected to the “alterations in the branding of horses, mules and camels”⁴⁶ and levied on the *bolukbāšis* and the *amirāxwors*.⁴⁷

The organization of the Royal stables involved however other lesser-known and lower-ranking officials, such as the *mošref-e eṣṭabl*. The name of his office suggests that his duties may have been the same as those of the above-mentioned *mošref-e ilxi*, only limited to the Royal palace. On this point, *Alqāb* contents itself with saying that he was responsible for checking and recording the number of horses and mules and the quantity of fodder available in the Royal stables.⁴⁸ *Tazkerat* does not mention the *mošref-e eṣṭabl* and *Dastūr*

⁴¹ *Alqāb*, pp. 21 and 22. In particular, *Tadhkirat*, p. 50 and *Alqāb*, p. 21 stress very clearly that the entire personnel of the *boyutāt* was under the orders of the *nāẓer-e boyutāt* (*Alqāb* mentions the workers of the stud farms as well). Curiously, however, only “the majority” of the *šāhebjam*'s (and not all of them) had to address their petitions to the *nāẓer-e boyutāt* according to *Tadhkirat*, p. 50 and *Dastūr*, pp. 115-116. Also the stables of the Royal palace of Eṣfahān had a *šāhebjam* (see below), and they were clearly considered as being part of the Royal workshops.

⁴² *Tadhkirat*, p. 50. For another instance of cooperation between the *nāẓer-e boyutāt* and the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow*, cf. *Dastūr*, pp. 117, 453, which seems to refer not to the “writing off of the levies” on dead horses and mules, as maintained by the translator, but rather to the erasing through burning of the Royal mark (*suxtan-e tamgā*) from those animals which were found unfit for the Royal stables and therefore “dismissed”. In fact, *Tadhkirat*, pp. 50, 67-68 shows that a similar procedure was followed for the camels of the *šotorxān*. Conversely, *Tadhkirat*, p. 50 and *Dastūr*, p. 117 agree that the *nāẓer-e boyutāt* had to inspect the camels of the Royal Household once a year, but there is no mention of an analogous duty concerning the horses.

⁴³ *Tadhkirat*, pp. 68 (with a list of the said materials), 139; cf. also *Dastūr*, pp. 200, 371-372. Of course, the *šāhebjam-e anbār* was also a subaltern of the *nāẓer-e boyutāt*.

⁴⁴ *Tadhkirat*, pp. 50, 20 (Persian text).

⁴⁵ On the *vazīr-e boyutāt*, cf. *Tadhkirat*, pp. 48-49, 70, 140; *Alqāb*, p. 65; *Dastūr*, pp. 213-214, 383-384. On the *mostowfi-e arbāb-e taḥāvil*, cf. *Tadhkirat*, pp. 49, 52, 70-71, 140; *Alqāb*, pp. 60-61; *Dastūr*, pp. 132-133, 216-218, 387. On the duties of the *nāẓer-e boyutāt*, cf. above, n. 39.

⁴⁶ *Dastūr*, p. 218.

⁴⁷ *Alqāb*, p. 60. It is also interesting to remark that, when dealing with the auditing duties of the *mostowfi-e arbāb-e taḥāvil*, *Alqāb* makes it clear that he was responsible for the horses of the *ilxis* entrusted to the *bolukbāšis*, *ilxičis*, *amirāxwors* and “the others” (on this specific point, cf. also *Tadhkirat*, p. 52; *Dastūr*, pp. 132-133, 218).

⁴⁸ *Alqāb*, pp. 69-70.

mentions him only incidentally, without devoting an individual entry to him.⁴⁹ However, it appears clearly from the sources (especially from *Tazkerat*) that he had first to draw a budget (on the basis of which funds were granted to the stables by the Royal Treasury) and then keep records of the expenditures made; he passed all the relevant documents to the *vazir-e boyutāt* and was therefore an important linchpin in the mechanism of supply and control of the stables. Fortunately, and despite what seems to be a certain lack of interest for this official on the part of the administrative sources, a few glimpses at the career of a *mošref-e eṣṭabl* are offered by the brief autobiographical statements of Moḥammad Ma'ṣum b. Xwājegi Eṣfahāni, the author of the *Xolāṣato's-siyar*, who held that post under three Shahs. Moḥammad Ma'ṣum joined the "Royal camp" (*ordu*) at the age of fourteen and, apparently at the age of twenty, he was appointed *mošref-e šotorxān* by Šāh 'Abbās I (1587–1629) who, twelve years later, bestowed upon him the office of *mošref-e eṣṭabl* as well. He seemingly held both functions (that of *mošref-e eṣṭabl* with certainty) under Šāh Šafī (1629–1642), until he was dismissed two years after the accession to the throne of Šāh 'Abbās II (1642–1666) and approximately thirty years of service at Court. After two more years of forced abeyance, and the eventual disgrace of his enemies, he was appointed *vazir* of Qarābāg.⁵⁰ In referring to his own office, Moḥammad Ma'ṣum uses both the form *mošref-e eṣṭabl* and *mošref-e ṭavile*.

Another official of some importance was the *šāhebjam'-e eṣṭabl*.⁵¹ He was in charge of the horses, mules⁵² and *olāgs*⁵³ of the Royal Household (*sarkār-e xāṣṣe*), and he also played a role in the bureaucratic process necessary for the payment of salaries to the workers of the Royal stables,⁵⁴ who were considered his "followers" (*tābe*), or subalterns: for both reasons, then, he must have been in some sort of subordinated relationship to the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow*, although the sources make it relatively clear that he was under the authority of the *nāzer-e boyutāt*. This is also confirmed by the fact that the fees granted to the *šāhebjam'-e eṣṭabl* in addition to his ordinary salary originated from the same sources from which the fees granted to the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* (and to the *mošref-e eṣṭabl* and the *'amale* as well) were drawn.⁵⁵ Clearly the *šāhebjam'-e eṣṭabl*, who was not an emir but may have been a professional, was the man who actually oversaw the everyday life of the stables, while the *amirāxworbāši*, a "political appointee" chosen by the ruler, had to fulfill important ceremonial duties such as, for instance, being present at the Shah's rides or when the ruler visited the stables. For this reason, the latter had under his orders other officials with (presumably) ceremonial duties connected to horses and riding, such as the *jelowdārbāši* (First Equerry), the *zindārbāši* (Head of the Keepers of the Saddle), the *rekābdārbāši/uzangidārbāši* (Head of the Stirrup-holders), who also accompanied the Shah during his rides, and their men.⁵⁶ Interestingly enough, however, *Dastūr* lists the latter two officials among the *šāhebjam*'s of the Royal workshops, and therefore not among the "political appointees" but among the supposed "professionals".⁵⁷ One wonders whether the competencies

⁴⁹ *Dastūr*, pp. 116, and 125 on his income. *Tadhkirat*, pp. 48–49, 71, 140 mentions the *mošrefs* of the Royal *boyutāt* collectively, among whom the *mošref-e eṣṭabl* is clearly included, while on pp. 52 and 24 (Persian text) the *mošrefs* of the *amirāxworbāši-e šahrā* are mentioned.

⁵⁰ Eṣfahāni, *Xolāṣato's-siyar*, pp. 311–315; cf. also p. 27.

⁵¹ *Tadhkirat*, pp. 64, 68, 100, 134–135, 139; *Dastūr*, pp. 231, 400–401, 566.

⁵² Here Marcinkowski read mistakenly *šotor* instead of *astar*: cf. *Dastūr*, p. 566.

⁵³ The word *olāg* meant originally a "post or relay horse", and later also "horse" and "donkey": cf. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, II, pp. 102–107. In the present context, "donkey" seems the most likely translation.

⁵⁴ *Tadhkirat*, p. 30 (based on Chardin) mentions the presence in each workshop – besides the *šāhebjam'* and the *mošref* – of a "master" (*ustā*) and of a *keliddār*: one wonders if they were present in the Royal stables as well.

⁵⁵ On the income of the *šāhebjam'-e eṣṭabl*, cf. *Tadhkirat*, pp. 87, 100, 106 (Persian text); *Alqāb*, p. 26; *Dastūr*, pp. 125–126, 231, 566. On the income of the *mošref-e eṣṭabl*, cf. *Tadhkirat*, p. 87; *Alqāb*, p. 70; *Dastūr*, p. 125. Interestingly, the basic salary (*mavājeb*) of the *mošref* seems to have been higher than the *šāhebjam*'s. It is worth remarking that, according to *Alqāb*, the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* had to share the fees placed on/ each horse and mule presented as *piškeš* not only with his subordinates but also with the *išikāqāsibāši-e divān*. In fact, not only the latter was entitled to collect a tithe on the *piškeš* presented to the Royal court (foodstuffs excluded) but, in his capacity of "great master of ceremonies", he was in charge of ensuring that the proper protocol be observed both during Royal audiences at Court and (as explicitly stated in *Alqāb*, p. 18) during the cavalcades of the ruler.

⁵⁶ According to Jean Chardin, quoted by *Tadhkirat*, p. 120.

⁵⁷ *Dastūr*, pp. 198–199, 367, 370. Cf. also *ibidem*, pp. 186, 357–358, 521 on the *jelowdārbāši*. It is also interesting to note that the salary of the *zindārs* and the *jelowdārs* consisted at least partly of fees shared with the *šāhebjam'* of the *zinxāne*: cf. *Tadhkirat*, p.

of the *ṣāhebjam^c-e eṣṭabl* extended to the stud farms as well or the latter had their own *ṣāhebjam^c* (thus creating two parallel structures, i. e., *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* – *ṣāhebjam^c-e eṣṭabl* – *mošref-e eṣṭabl* for the Court and *amirāxworbāši-e ṣaḥrā* – **ṣāhebjam^c-e ilxi* – *mošref-e ilxi* for the provinces, both ultimately answerable to the *nāzer-e boyutāt*). The paragraph of the *Tazkerat* devoted to the income of the *amirāxworbāši-e ṣaḥrā* mentions in fact a *ṣāhebjam^c* (who logically should be considered subordinated to the *amirāxworbāši* himself), unfortunately without further specification.⁵⁸ The term **ṣāhebjam^c-e ilxi* is not attested in the three handbooks, but its presence would represent a further parallel in the terminology between the staffs of the two *amirāxworbāšis*, besides those previously remarked upon.

To sum up, the *ṣāhebjam^c-e eṣṭabl* was, to quote the words of Vladimir Minorsky, “the Head of the Department responsible for its general activities”, whereas the *mošref-e eṣṭabl* was “the Inspector dealing with the administrative routine”⁵⁹: if we have to judge from their respective salaries, the latter was not necessarily inferior in rank to the former.⁶⁰ However, and interestingly, the name of the *ṣāhebjam^c-e eṣṭabl* never appears among the several categories of workers whom our three administration handbooks list as “retainers” of the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* and who needed his approval in order to be hired and paid. Therefore, the *ṣāhebjam^c-e eṣṭabl* seems to have had a status different from the so-called “personnel” or “workers” (*‘amale*) of the stables: he most probably fell under the direct authority of the *nāzer-e boyutāt*,⁶¹ although to some extent he must also have been responsible to the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* (who, after all, was the court official specifically in charge of the stables). Most probably, the *‘amale* of the Royal stables (who seem to have been technicians concerned with horse-breeding, without administrative duties) really were the retainers of the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow*, and they are considered by the sources as dependants of the *nāzer-e boyutāt*, since all the administrative questions concerning them ultimately required the latter’s approval. Thus the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* was at the apex of what we could call the professional, “equine” side of the management of the Royal stables: he had mainly inspection and ceremonial duties, and answered to the Shah for the well-functioning of the department under his orders and of the wellbeing of the horses. The *mošref-e eṣṭabl* definitely answered to the *mostowfi-e arbāb-e taḥāvil* and the *vazir-e boyutāt*, and the three of them belonged to the branch of the administration led by the *nāzer-e boyutāt*, who in his turn represented the pinnacle of achievement in the administrative side of the management of the stables. Above the latter, of course, stood the Grand Vizier (*e’temādo’-d-dowle*) and the *mostowfi’-l-mamālek*, without whose knowledge, consent and official endorsement no financial transaction was possible within the Safavid administration.⁶² Finally, these considerations regarding the *amirāxworbāši-e jelow* and the administration of the Royal stables appear to be true also for the *amirāxworbāši-e ṣaḥrā* and the stud farms. One may add that *Tazkerat* seems to point to the existence of more than one *mošref-e ilxi*:⁶³ this could mean that either the stud farms, scattered as they were through the kingdom, were each served by a different *mošref* or that a senior *mošref-e ilxi* was supported by a network of deputies, each stationed at a different stud farm. In either case, given the parallels between the structure of the Royal stables and that of the stud farms, several officials carrying the title of **ṣāhebjam^c-e ilxi* may have existed.

After this brief look at the duties of the two *amirāxworbāšis* of the Royal Household and at the structure revolving around them, however, we remain with a number of unanswered questions. For instance, how many people worked in the Court stables and on the farms?⁶⁴ What was the salary of the members of the

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⁵⁸ *Tadhkirat*, p. 87.

⁵⁹ *Tadhkirat*, p. 140.

⁶⁰ Cf. above, n. 54 for my remarks on this point.

⁶¹ The sources are not totally clear and, above all, in agreement on this question: cf. above, n. 40.

⁶² On the *e’temādo’-d-dowle*, cf. *Tadhkirat*, pp. 44-46, 114-116; *Dastūr*, pp. 99-103, 298-302; *Alqāb*, pp. 4-11; Floor, *Safavid Government*, pp. 23-40. On the *mostowfi’-l-mamālek*, cf. *Tadhkirat*, pp. 54-55, 122-125; *Dastūr*, pp. 129-130, 323-325; *Alqāb*, pp. 45-47; Floor, *Safavid Government*, pp. 40-43.

⁶³ Cf. above, n. 48.

⁶⁴ *Alqāb*, p. 21 states that, during the reign of Šāh Solṭān Ḥoseyn, the *nāzer-e boyutāt* had under his orders 5,940 *tābin*, “retainers” (including the workers of the workshops and of the *ilxis*), of whom 598 were working in the Royal palaces and gardens of

lower staff and the costs of stables and farms?⁶⁵ How many horse-breeding farms existed in the kingdom, and where were they located exactly?⁶⁶ Which horse breeds were bred there? War, the training of the troops and certain pastimes such as hunting and polo (which were at the same time a social duty, a popular amusement and a form of military training for the upper class and the soldiers) must have placed a heavy toll on the horses. How many animals lived in the farms,⁶⁷ how many in the Royal stables,⁶⁸ and how many were supplied to the Court each year? What was the price of a horse?⁶⁹ Exactly, which corps of the army were equipped with horses provided by the Royal breeding farms, to what extent, and with what kind of horses (mares, geldings, studs)?⁷⁰ Did some of them find their way to India, thanks to generally peaceful relations existing between Safavids and Mughals?⁷¹ The present essay just confirms (if there was any need) that the Safavid administration was a complex and refined machinery, where many officers had manifold and seemingly disparate duties often overlapping those of other “colleagues”, and where cross-checking of procedures was the rule. Therefore, one cannot but once more regret the loss of the Safavid archives, which

Māzandarān. Without any pretension to draw conclusions, one may remark that the “stable boys” in the Sultan’s palace at Constantinople were 2,080 in 1540, 4,341 in 1568, 4,322 in 1609 and 3,633 in 1670: cf. Halil İnalcık, Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (tr.), *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300–1600* (New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas, Publisher, 1989) (1st ed., 1973), pp. 81, 83. Furthermore, “in 1547 there was a sister organization in the provinces, employing several thousand people, and responsible for maintaining pasture land and breeding transport and riding animals”: cf. *ibidem*, p. 81.

⁶⁵ A few figures can be found in *Tadhkirat*, pp. 108–109, 183: cf. in particular the expenditure for the staff of the *ilxis* on p. 109.

⁶⁶ Stud farms existed “in each *velāyat*” according to *Dastūr*, pp. 114, 449, but this may be just a rhetorical expression. Membre, *Relazione di Persia*, p. 31 mentions the presence of horses belonging to the Shah in the surroundings of Marāḡe. Shortly before the Ottoman invasion of 1578, a Kurdish chief stole “nearly ten thousand horses of Bedouin Arab stock – stallions and mares, large and small” from the stud farm of Qarāčapuq, or Qarāčuq, near Marāḡe: cf. Eskandar Beg Monshi, *History of Shah ‘Abbas*, I, p. 349; Eskandar Beyg Torkmān, *Tārix-e ‘ālamārā-ye ‘abbāsi*, I, p. 232 (quoted in Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, II, p. 210). Pietro della Valle saw a Royal herd of 4–5,000 horses near Hamadān in 1617: cf. *Viaggi*, p. 448. In 1629, Šāh Šafī ordered that a herd of 3,000 foals from the Royal *ilxis* of the Hamadān area be distributed to the troops: cf. Eṣfahānī, *Xolāṣato ‘s-siyar*, p. 70. The Venetian *Bailo* at the Porte reported that, during the Ottoman invasion of Persia of 1630, the *Cavallarizzo maggiore* of the Shah (a title which could correspond either to that of *amirāxworbāši* or, perhaps more likely, to that of *jelowdār-bāši*) feigned desertion and tried to lure the Ottoman cavalry into an ambush with the pretext of seizing 4,000 horses belonging to the Shah. The stratagem however was discovered and the *Cavallarizzo maggiore* executed: cf. Archivio di Stato, Venezia, *Senato, Dispacci ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 110, no. 31, fols. 288r–288v (Giovanni Cappello, Vigne di Pera, 4 May 1630). Given the time necessary to send a courier from the eastern borders of the Empire to Constantinople, at the time of the events (provided they were related correctly) the Ottoman army must have been still in Kurdistan. During the reign of Šāh Šafī, *ilxis* existed at Hamadān, at Eṣfahān or in its immediate surroundings, in ‘Erāq (presumably Persian, although this remains unspecified), and at Firuzkuh: cf. Eṣfahānī, *Xolāṣato ‘s-siyar*, pp. 70, 124, 237, 285. The translation of the passage concerning the *ilxi* at Eṣfahān provided by Gerhard Rettelbach, *Ḥulāṣat as-siyar. Der Iran unter Schah Šafī (1629–1642) nach der Chronik des Muḥammad Ma‘šūm b. Ḥuāḡagī Iṣfahānī* (Munich: Dr. Dr. Rudolf Trofenik, 1978), pp. 108, 478, 508 does not seem correct.

⁶⁷ Cf. above, n. 65 for the figures provided by different sources.

⁶⁸ “The early Mughal court stables supported about 12,000 horses”: cf. Jos Gommans, *Mughal Warfare* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 114.

⁶⁹ Floor, *Safavid Government*, pp. 221–222 provides a few instances of prices expressed in Venetian currency.

⁷⁰ On stallions, mares and geldings see the brief but interesting remarks by J.-P. Digard, “Asb-savārī”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, II, p. 738. Moḥammad Taqī Dāneš Paūh, “Āmār-e māli va neẓāmi-e Irān dar 1128 yā tafṣil-e ‘asāker-e firuzi-ma‘āser-e Šāh Solṭān Ḥoseyn Šafavi az Mirzā Moḥammad Ḥoseyn Mostowfi”, *Farhang-e Irānzamin*, 20 (1353): pp. 397 and 398 states that in 1716 the tribal Safavid forces received their horses from their chiefs, which would be quite natural, while paid cavalry soldiers had to buy their mounts. Floor, *Safavid Government*, p. 155 (quoting Michele Membre,) reports an episode of the Shah distributing horses to the *qurčis*. Eṣfahānī, *Xolāṣato ‘s-siyar*, pp. 70, 237 and 285 mentions three analogous incidents, in which Šāh Šafī shared out Royal horses among the troops. On the second of these occasions “home-grown horses” (*asbhā-ye xānezād*) are mentioned, on the other two the “Royal horse herds” (*ilxihā-ye xāṣṣe*). The recipients of the horses are indicated as ‘*asāker* on pp. 237 and 285, as ‘*asāker*, *gāzis* and *amirs* on p. 70.

⁷¹ “Iranian breeders developed a flourishing export of riding-horses to India” according to Digard, “Asb-savārī”, p. 738. According to Eskandar Beyg, a Safavid ambassador visiting the court of Akbar in 1597–98 took with him “one hundred thoroughbred horses, all sired by pedigreed Arabian, Georgian, and Bayātī stallions; Arabian mares, each worth a fortune”: cf. Eskandar Beg, *History of Shah ‘Abbas*, II, p. 723; Eskandar Beyg Torkmān, *Tārix-e ‘ālamārā-ye ‘abbāsi*, I, p. 543. The size of the gift makes one think that it could have been not just a present (however “royal” and lavish) but rather an attempt to boost Mughal horse-power thanks to the good relations existing between the two rulers. On the horses of the Mughal army, cf. Gommans, *Mughal Warfare*, pp. 111–121 in particular.

would have yielded an enormous amount of information not only of an administrative and political nature, but also of an economic and social character. One can also hope that further research will provide at least some answers and, above all, that attention to the sources will not succumb to the onslaught of new disciplines and approaches to history which seem to be more fashionable in the academic community of today, but which perhaps are not of the greatest urgency in the field of Iranian studies.

No Horses for the Enemy: Ottoman Trade Regulations and Horse Gifting

Hedda REINDL-KIEL¹

Margrave Francesco Gonzaga II of Mantua's (1484–1519) costly passion was his stables. He had bought horses in Spain, Sicily and North Africa before finally deciding in 1491 to obtain the objects of his desire in the Ottoman Empire, too.² The margrave must have made thorough enquires about the conditions for buying horses in Ottoman lands, as he sent an embassy with armours and mules (which were a rarity in Islamic countries)³ as presents to Sultan Bayezid II. A few days after his arrival the Mantuan envoy received permission to purchase some mounts. Furthermore he was also given three horses by the Sultan as gifts for his lord.⁴ Francesco Gonzaga had done what most of his Italian fellow princes, including the Pope, did: he had entered into diplomatic relations with the arch enemy of Christendom, the Ottoman Sultan. In this case, Francesco was able to extend his stock of valuable horses, while the Sultan gained an Italian ally in his struggle against his half-brother Cem, then in the Pope's custody. The story of this short-lived Ottoman-Mantuan diplomatic flirt has been described in detail by my late teacher, Hans Joachim Kißling.⁵

The story illustrates that buying thoroughbred horses in Ottoman lands was somewhat complicated for a foreigner. Strangers obviously needed Sultanic consent if they planned to export these animals. A clause in the *kanunname-i vilayet-i Bosna*, the code of laws for the province of Bosnia from 1516, explicitly says: "It shall be forbidden to buy in the lands of Islam (*diyar-ı İslam*) good horses (*eyü at*), weapons (*silah*) and military equipment (*alât-ı harb ve kıtâl*) and take them to the unbelievers (*kâfir canibine*)."⁶ To my knowledge this is the oldest surviving legal enactment of the matter. According to this regulation horses were seen by the Ottomans as strategic goods, not to be sold to potential enemies.

After the Safavids' turn to Shiite Islam, Iran became for the Ottomans a harbour of heresy, even worse than the unbelievers in the West.⁷ Hence, the export of weapons and horses was also forbidden to this country. Accordingly, an order (from 27 November 1565) to the governor (*beğlerbeği*) of Van, which is preserved in the *Mühimme defterleri*, the correspondence of the Council of State (*divan*) with the provinces, explicitly forbids military men (*kul taifesi*) and others "to sell, driven by greed for a better price, good horses (*yarar atlar*) to the upper side (*yukaru canibe*)", i.e. to Iran.⁸

Another order, again in the *Mühimme defterleri*, elucidates in a way the expression "good horse" (*eyü at*) in the law. The order, a letter of safe-conduct from August 1559 for the envoys of Johann Sigismund Zapolya (*Kraloğlu*) and his mother Queen Isabella states, "It is forbidden for horses to go outside the Well-Protected Domains," i.e. the Ottoman Empire, and continues, "The mounts they [the envoys] ride must not

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² Hans Joachim Kißling, *Sultan Bâjezid's Beziehungen zu Markgraf Francesco II. von Gonzaga*, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, Reihe der Philosophischen Fakultät Bd. 1 (München, 1965), pp. 2-5.

³ Kißling, *Bâjezid's Beziehungen*, p. 7, n. 16.

⁴ Kißling, *Bâjezid's Beziehungen*, pp. 6-7.

⁵ Kißling, *Bâjezid's Beziehungen*, passim.

⁶ Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*. III. Kitap: Yavuz Sultan Selim Devri Kanunnâmeleri (Istanbul: Fey Vakfı, 1991), p. 376.

⁷ In theory the Ottoman fight was directed exclusively against the Safavid dynasty, though. Cf. Halil İnalcık, "State and Ideology under Sultan Süleyman I", idem, *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, Indiana University Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Joint Series vol. 9 (Bloomington, 1993), p. 80-81.

⁸ *5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (973/1565-15 66)*. <Tıpkıbasım>, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayını N: 23 (Ankara, 1994), p. 235 # 610.

be good horses (*yarar at*), but packhorses (*bargir*).⁹ Thus, *eyü at*, “good horse”, is the 16th century term for thoroughbred horse, while *bargir* (today *beygir*), “packhorse” meant the “ordinary” non-purebred animal. In an earlier order from 15 March 1545 to the governor (*beğlerbeği*) of Damascus, concerning (non-Muslim) merchants travelling to Jerusalem, Aleppo, Basra, Hormuz and Tripolis (in today's Lebanon) the question of mounts is again specified: *bindikleri dahi ‘arabî at olmayub bârgir cinsi ola...*¹⁰, “and their mounts must not be [thoroughbred] Arabian horses, but those of the ‘packhorse’ type”.

This order is matched in a way by a number of Ottoman miniatures depicting the ruler on horseback. Although the horses in these miniatures are in general highly stylised, several features, such as the high-carried tail, the arched neck and the slightly concave profile, point to Arabians as the preferred horses of Ottoman royalty.¹¹

The official ban on exporting horses was obviously not easy to enforce in all border provinces. At traditional horse-exporting ports the trade, although in the form of contraband, did continue. An order from August 1565 to the governor of Basra, for example, complains that despite the ban war material, horses, iron, lead, grain and other victuals were being exported. The *beğlerbeği* (governor) was thus instructed to prevent the shipping of such goods and horses abroad.¹² The destinations of this illegal trade are not named, but they may well be the Empire's hostile neighbour Iran, the Portuguese island of Hormuz or India. As Basra started to develop during these years to be the major Ottoman port for the India trade¹³ it is well possible that horses, war material and provisions were headed for India.

Despite the Porte's prohibition the export of Arabian horses via Basra seems to have continued unbroken until the 19th century.¹⁴ A long-term trade of this kind can hardly have been organised without the Porte's knowledge. Hence, it is not unlikely that pragmatism triumphed over principles in the Ottoman central administration. To find out how the Porte dealt with this matter, and whether tacit consent was given or some other solution was found, we need to make a thorough, and rather time consuming, study of approximately 200 *Mühimme defterleri* from the mid-16th century until the end of the 18th century.¹⁵

In any case, the Ottoman attitude concerning the export of horses seems a bit odd. After all, a general ban does not appear very logical if we take into consideration the Ottoman military aid to Aceh (around 1567–68, against the Portuguese)¹⁶ and to some Indo-Muslim states. The small Sultanate of the ‘Adilshahi’s in Bidjapur, for example, was supplied around 1680 with an Ottoman canon caster who created an enormous weapon (with his name on it), which is still to be seen. In the 18th century the favourite Ottoman gift to the

⁹ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul, Mühimme Defteri 3, p. 71 # 173.

¹⁰ Halil Sahillioğlu (ed.), *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi H. 951–952 Tarihli ve E-12321 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri* (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2002), p. 265.

¹¹ A very distinct example is the hunting scene in ‘Arifi's Güy-i Çawgân, in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi manuscript H. 845, fol. 34 b – 35 a. This masterpiece of miniature painting has been published several times, for example [Filiz Çağman – Zeren Tanındı,] *The Topkapı Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, J. M. Rogers (tr. and ed.), (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), pl. 140. Metin And, *Osmanlı Tasvir Sanatları: 1 Minyatür* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2002), p. 46. All hunting scenes from ‘Arifi's Süleymanname point again to the use of Arabian horses by monarch and princes. Cf. Esin Atıl (ed.), *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington: National Gallery of Art – New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1986), pp. 126, 176, 193, 220; see also pp. 103, 105, 118, 120, 142, 170, 184, 188, 190, 208, 232. For an overview of horse representations in the Turcic world (with some references to Ottoman art) see Emel Esin, “Türk Sanatında At”, in Emine Gürsoy-Naskali (ed.), *Türk Kültüründe At ve Çağdaş Atıcılık* (İstanbul: Türkiye Jokey Kulübü, 1995), pp. 54–90.

¹² *5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*, p. 25 # 65.

¹³ Cf. Halil İnalcık, “The Ottoman Cotton Market and India: The Role of Labor Cost in Market Competition”, idem, *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire*, p. 271, 278–279.

¹⁴ Thabit A.J. Abdullah, *Merchants, Mamluks and Murder* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), p. 40. Cf. also (mainly for the 18th and 19th centuries) Hala Fattah, *The Politics of Regional Trade in Iraq, Arabia and the Gulf, 1745–1900* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), pp. 159–183.

¹⁵ The oldest surviving register of this type is kept in the archives of the Topkapı Palace and was published a few years ago by Halil Sahillioğlu (see note 9). 73 volumes in the Ottoman Archives of the Turkish Prime Minister are catalogued (and a number of them published in transcription and as a facsimile), but the bulk of the *Mühimme defterleri* have to be examined page by page because they still await cataloguing; cf. *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Katalogları Rehberi*, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayın N: 26 (Ankara, 1995), pp. 191–201.

¹⁶ Cf. Numan Kurtulmuş, “Açe”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. (henceforth: *DİA*) I (İstanbul, 1988), p. 330.

east – Iran and Mughal India – were watches and rifles,¹⁷ the latter much more dangerous objects than horses.

Consequently, the Ottoman reluctance to allow horses to be exported might, at least in part, have to do with an attitude that has little to do with warfare: a pre-Islamic sacral veneration of horses that continued in Islamic times and was manifested, for instance, in the manifold graves for horses of famous heroes (like the one of Mehmed the Conqueror's horse in Istanbul's quarter Eyüp).¹⁸

Additionally, as the interdict on non-Muslims riding “good horses” clearly suggests, thoroughbreds signalled status¹⁹ and as such were deemed luxury items. Hence, the pre-modern Ottoman economic concept probably played a role as well. The export of war material and goods important for the home market, such as cotton, wax, leather, hides and grain, was forbidden,²⁰ and the flow of luxury items to other countries was not wanted either. All this was thought to weaken the domestic market and hence undermine the strength of the economy.

In this context a statement made in 1592 by Lorenzo Bernardo, a Venetian diplomat, is of some interest: “Because the Turk does not care about delicious food and not about rich furnishings for his house, since he is content with only bread and rice and with only blanket and cushion, he shows all his *grandezza* with a multitude of slaves and horses.”²¹

It is not easy to establish average prices for Ottoman horses, because data are rather scattered and a systematic research has not yet been carried out. Occasionally we find records in the protocols of Sharia courts, but by and large they are not frequent and not detailed enough to give a complete picture.

The *kadı* protocols of Larende (today: Karaman, in Central Anatolia) mention for the year 1533 the purchase of a horse at 1,200 *akçe* (the Ottoman silver coin), and another one at 2,200 *akçe*.²² The same source refers to the sale of a black horse (*yağız at*) at 1,500 *akçe* and one with a russet tail at 2,800 *akçe*.²³ These animals were probably thoroughbreds, while the prices for mounts of the ordinary type (*bargir*; but in the register called *at*) in 1534 varied between 320 and 500 *akçe*.²⁴ One entry (1534) in the Larende register is of special interest: for a sale as part of a multi-cornered deal the price of a horse is given at 1,200 *akçe* while the price of a male slave is 1,500 *akçe*.²⁵

In 1541–2 two horses were sold in ‘Aintab (today Gaziantep in south-eastern Turkey) at 20 gold pieces and another two at 13 gold pieces²⁶ (1,200 and 780 *akçe*). From the court registers of Sofia we have some horse prices for the year 1550: the sums vary between 160 and 900 *akçe*.²⁷ In the years around 1540 and

¹⁷ Cf. Hedda Reindl-Kiel, “Der Duft der Macht: Osmanen, islamische Tradition, muslimische Mächte und der Westen im Spiegel diplomatischer Geschenke”, *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Kunde des Morgenlandes* 95 (2005), pp. 240–245.

¹⁸ Hallaçoğlu, “At”, p. 31.

¹⁹ It is interesting to note that privileges for the ruling elite in the Ottoman Empire were never positively formulated; they become only visible by various prohibitions for people who are not privileged.

²⁰ Halil İnalcık, “The Ottoman Economic Mind and Aspects of the Ottoman Economy”, in idem, *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization and Economy* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), X, p. 215.

²¹ L. Bernardo, *Relazione dell'impero Ottomano di Lorenzo Bernardo, 1592*, in E. Albèri (ed.), *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al senato*, Serie III^a – Volume II^o, Firenze 1844, p. 368: “perchè il Turco prima non curava il delicato mangiare, nè li ricchi addobamenti di casa, ma solo si contentava di pane e riso, e del solo tappeto e cuscino; tutta la sua grandezza la mostrava nel numero dei molti schiavi e cavalli”.

²² Alaaddin Aköz, *Kanunî Devrine Ait 939–941/1532–1535 Tarihli Lârende (Karaman) Şer'iye Sicili*. Özet – Dizin – Tıpkıbasım (Konya: Tablet Kitabevi, 2006), p. 48 # 79.2 and 82 # 136.4.

²³ Aköz, *Lârende Şer'iye Sicili*, p. 96 # 164.1 and 99 # 166.2.

²⁴ Aköz, *Lârende Şer'iye Sicili*, p. p. 141 # 217.2; 246 # 346.2; 264 # 374.2.

²⁵ Aköz, *Lârende Şer'iye Sicili*, p. 240 # 338.1. An equivalence of horse prices with those of slaves was also observed by my colleague Fehmi Yılmaz (Marmara Üniversitesi İstanbul), who worked on the *kadı* registers of the Crimea (1608). (Oral communication).

²⁶ Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley e.a.: University of California Press, 2003), p. 303.

²⁷ Herbert W. Duda and Galab D. Galabov, *Die Protokollbücher des Kadiamtes Sofia* (München: Oldenbourg, 1960), pp. 25 # 72; 52 # 193; 58 # 222; 75 # 296; 77 # 306.

1550 the daily wage for an unskilled craftsman in Istanbul was around 5 *akçe*.²⁸ For 1620 the Sofia register mentions again a horse worth 1,000 *akçe*.²⁹

In Ankara we find for April/May 1590 the sale of two horses at 13,000 *akçe*.³⁰ In another case, roughly about the same time, a horse is mentioned whose worth is 20 gold pieces.³¹ In the same year, again in the area of Ankara, 45 gold pieces were paid for a horse.³² In 1587 the value of a Venetian ducat (the widely used gold coin) had been 120 *akçe*,³³ thus, the latter mount cost (in these years of inflation) at least 5,400 *akçe*, while the other animal was valued only at about 2,400 *akçe*. At the same time (1587) the daily wage for an unskilled workman in Istanbul's building sector was 9.4 *akçe*,³⁴ while in provincial towns the sum was somewhat lower.

These enormous disparities in prices (even if we take into account the rapid monetary inflation of the 1580s) point, of course, to differences in quality. It is highly improbable that people could buy a thoroughbred at less than 800 or 900 *akçe* even in the forties and fifties of the 16th century.

When we bear in mind that in 1581–1582 a peasant's house of mud brick was available at 250–750 *akçe*,³⁵ it is evident that good horses were more than just important military assets; they were also luxury items. Nevertheless, it seems that no single major horse market developed; horses were sold nearly everywhere, in most of the regional markets all over the Empire, as we may conclude from a whole range of local tax regulations (*kanunname*).³⁶

Not least because of their high prices, horses were major elements in conspicuous consumption and as such favourite items for gift exchange. The supposedly oldest, but highly disputed Ottoman document, allegedly from 1348, already mentions a horse gift.³⁷ Governors sent horses (and other animals) to the Porte, and in the gift traffic of the Ottoman court with neighbouring states horses always played a significant role.³⁸ In Islamic culture as well as in international interchange this had a long tradition. An eleventh-century Arabic book on gifts and treasures relates that the Prophet Muḥammad had received from the Byzantine governor of Egypt, al-Muḥawḳis, in addition to gold, textiles and honey, four slave girls, a eunuch, a mule, a donkey and a horse. The latter became the Prophet's favourite mount, the famous Duldul.³⁹ Thus, horse gifting, having already had a long tradition with Central Asian Turkic people, possessed for Seldjuks and Ottomans at least an Islamic veneer.

Recalling Francesco Gonzaga's efforts to obtain Ottoman horses, we can conclude that Ottoman horse breeding must have had very high standards. Unfortunately, we know very little about it. Although it is said that the common horse breed in Ottoman lands was the Turcoman horse,⁴⁰ things are slightly more complicated. The word Turcoman/Türkmen is a generic term here indicating a breed with small or middle

²⁸ Şevket Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler/500 Years of Prices and Wages in Istanbul and Other Cities: 1469–1998* (Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000), p. 69.

²⁹ Duda - Galabov, *Protokollbücher*, p. 353 # 1143.

³⁰ Halit Ongan, *Ankara'nın İki Numaralı Şer'iye Sicili, 1 Muharrem 998 – 8 Ramazan 998 (20 Kasım 1588 – 11 Temmuz 1590)* (Ankara: TTK, 1974), p. 109 # 1421.

³¹ Ongan, *Ankara'nın İki Numaralı*, p. 117 # 1532.

³² Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "A woman *timar* holder in the province of Ankara", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* XL (1997), p. 216.

³³ Halil Sahillioğlu, "Akçe", *DİA* II, p. 227.

³⁴ Pamuk, *500 Yıllık Fiyatlar*, p. 69.

³⁵ Suraiya Faroqhi, "The peasants of Saideli in the Late Sixteenth Century", *Archivum Ottomanicum* VIII (1983), p. 239.

³⁶ Akgündüz, *Kanunnâmeleri*. Vol. I-X.

³⁷ For the text and the latest discussion (with rich literature) see Feridun Emecen, "Orhan Bey'in 1348 Tarihli Mülknâmesi Hakkında Yeni Bazı Notlar ve Düşünceler", idem, *İlk Osmanlılar ve Batı Anadolu Beylikler Dünyası* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2001), pp. 187-207.

³⁸ For the practice of Ottoman diplomatic gift exchange with other states see Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Der Duft der Macht", pp. 195-258.

³⁹ Ghâda al-Hijjâwî al-Qaddûmî, *Book of Gifts and Rarities (kitâb al-Hadâyâ wa al-Tuhaf): Selections Compiled in the Fifteenth Century from an Eleventh-Century Manuscript on Gifts and Treasures* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 63-65.

⁴⁰ Cf. Yusuf Hallaçoğlu, "At: İslâmî Devir", *DİA*, IV, p. 29.

high body, a small pronounced head, short ears, a thick and long mane, a strong rump and breast; a type of fast and robust horse.⁴¹ Yet, this type of horse does not exist in its pure form in today's Turkey, and probably never did. The prevailing horse race (*yerli tip*, “the native type”) has been exposed to various racial influences and is for a good part a mixture of the Przewalski or the Tarpan type with the offspring of ancient Oriental breeds.⁴² Another type is today mainly the Çukurova horse, a strongly built crossbreed of “native” and Arabian breeds,⁴³ while the Uzunyayla horse is a rather modern breed originating in Circassian horses and imported in 1873–74.⁴⁴ Since the 19th century saw a strong decline (if not in parts a collapse) in the breeding of thoroughbreds in the Ottoman Empire⁴⁵ it is particularly difficult to visualise historical Ottoman horse races. Due to its geographical situation the Ottoman market for thoroughbreds must have always been a “meeting point” of Arabian, Turcoman and Caucasian horse breeds.

A gift inventory (probably from the 18th century) containing riding equipments names several *takım-ı Türkmen*,⁴⁶ which obviously were made for the horse breeds of this name. In the inner-Ottoman gift traffic chiefly two other types are mentioned: *Rumî* (“Anatolian”) and *Misrî* (Egyptian)⁴⁷ but *Şam atları* (Damascene horses) appear as well.⁴⁸ While we might imagine that “Egyptian” and “Damascene” horses were two varieties of Arabian thoroughbreds, we do not have a clue what “Anatolian” thoroughbreds might have looked like. Were they the ancestors of today's “natives” (*yerli*), or should we think of the Çukurova type?

In general neither Ottoman archival documents nor Ottoman or Western narrative literature contain specific descriptions concerning race or type of horses presented as gifts. More often than not only the number of animals is given.

A Turkish proverb, however, *Alma alı, bin doruya, besle kırı, sat yağızı*, “Don't buy a sorrel, ride a chestnut one with dark mane, tail and fetlocks, breed a grey horse, sell a black one” might indicate actual preferences in terms of colour. In fact, in the few documents where any specification is given, in general probably chestnut horses with dark manes (*dorı*) did prevail.

A typical example for the administrative handling of horse gifting is to be found in the fragment of a courtly register from 1559 under the heading *ağa kullarına in'am buyurulan atlar ki zikr olunur*. “Horses as gifts for the servants [in rank of] *ağa*.” ‘Ali Ağa, the *mir-i 'alem* (chief standard bearer of the Palace) for example got a greyish horse which had originally been a present to the Sultan from the governor of Erzurum. Only one of the 22 horses in this document had not come to the court as a gift from an official such as the *sancak beğ* (governor) of Tarsus or the governor of Sivas etc.⁴⁹

This kind of redistributive gifting is a typical example for the pre-modern Ottoman (and “Islamic”) mode of gift exchange. This fits into a model described by the economic historian Karl Polany.⁵⁰ He links the redistribution mainly to a non-developed market economy. To what extent this model is valid for the Ottoman Empire and other pre-modern Islamic states remains questionable, though. The redistributive way of gifting was by no means restricted to the inner-Ottoman gift traffic; it was in general also valid when dealing with diplomatic gifts. In this latter category horses, as we have already seen, played a significant role.

⁴¹ Hallaçoğlu, “At”, p. 29.

⁴² Selâhattin Batu, *Türk atları ve at yetiştirme bilgisi*, Ankara Üniversitesi Veteriner Fakültesi Yayınları 15 (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 1951), pp. 79–83.

⁴³ Batu, *Türk atları*, pp. 86–88.

⁴⁴ Batu, *Türk atları*, pp. 89–90.

⁴⁵ Batu, *Türk atları*, pp. 70–71.

⁴⁶ Another set of horse utensils is *takım-ı Misrî*; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (henceforth TSMA), E. 3960/49.

⁴⁷ TSMA, E. 3960/43 (dated Zilhicce 1181/19.IV.–17.V.1768); E. 3960/50 (dated 1159/1746); E. 3960/53 (undated; 18th century?); E. 3960/55 (undated; 18th century?). Many documents refer only to *donanmış at* (“equipped horse”) or *at, ra's l*.

⁴⁸ TSMA, E. 3960/10 (undated; probably 1047/1637–38).

⁴⁹ TSMA, D. 10084.

⁵⁰ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston, Ma.: Beacon Press, 2001), pp. 45–58.

In 1623, for example, two horses, one chestnut with dark mane, tail and fetlocks (*dori*) and the other sorrel (*al*), equipped with jewelled and silver bridles and trappings, were sent to Shah 'Abbās I in Isfahan.⁵¹ A gift package to Sultan (Deli) İbrahim in 1051/1641 from Shah Şafī I contained no less than 14 horses.⁵² Another rich offer to the Ottoman court, one year later (registered 30. XII.1642) and probably from the new ruler of Iran, Shah 'Abbās II, included again 14 horses, five of them were specified as *esb-i bedavi*, apparently thoroughbred Arabians, maybe originally a gift from another ruler? The other nine were *esb-i yorga*, ambling horses.⁵³ The living part of this dispatch was completed with no less than 60 she-camels (*maye deve*).⁵⁴ Although the latter are mentioned in the gift inventory, they must have been only an additive. Tommaso Alberti, referring in his travelogue to the gifts brought by a Safavid envoy in November 1620 to the Ottoman Sultan, writes of 50 camels carrying silk, 25 camels transporting porcelain and another 25 camels bringing most beautiful carpets. The animal part of the Safavid diplomatic gift package also included an extremely beautiful horse, superbly equipped.⁵⁵

In 1665, after the peace of Vasvár (1664), the Hapsburg emperor Leopold I (r. 1657–1705) received 17 horses, costly jewellery, a tent, carpets, robes of honour and horse equipment.⁵⁶ Rather similar was the Ottoman gift package sent off in 1699 after the peace of Karlowitz (Karlofça) when, again, 25 horses were dispatched to Vienna, only this time accompanied by two leopards.

An undated document (probably from the 17th century) listing gifts from the court of Vienna to the Sultan (*Nemçe kralın pişkeşleridir*) records, next to tableware, clocks, silver vessels and ivory, six horses with velvet blankets and a crystal carriage.⁵⁷

In Ottoman diplomatic gift traffic the sum of 25 horses represents, at least to my knowledge, the maximum presented to a foreign court. The reason for this must have been twofold: firstly, a bigger number, let us say 50 horses, could have had the haut gout of a tributary gift,⁵⁸ and this was beyond everything the Ottoman head of protocol could think of. Secondly, and more important, an appropriate horse gift, would be more than just the “naked” animal. It had to be equipped with a suitable bridle, a costly saddle (frequently embroidered with gold and pearls, sometimes beset with valuable stones), silver or gilded stirrups, various luxurious blankets and trappings. Although, I have never come across a register where the prices of horses and equipment were indicated, I am inclined to think that in most cases the value of the accessories must have exceeded the cost of the horse several times over.

A register of gifts handed over to the treasury of the royal stables in 1640⁵⁹ illustrates the exquisiteness of horse equipment. Mustafa Çelebi, the *Ağa* of the Türkmens of Yeni İl (today: Uzunyalya),⁶⁰ offered bridles and trappings for no less than nine horses, one set consisting of Circassian bridles (*licam-ı Çerkezî*)⁶¹ from silk weaving with gilded silver, side chain of the bit (*reşme*)⁶² of gilded silver, saddle (*zin*) from red velvet

⁵¹ TSMA, D. 5903.

⁵² TSMA, D. 7998/2. There must have been a very noble race of Persian horses, since in 1668 the Dutch Vereenigte Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) sent two dapple-grey Persian stallions to the Shogun in Japan; Margot E. van Opstall, “Kamelen op de landweg. Dieren als geschenk voor de shogun”, Willem Robert van Gulik (ed.), *In het spoor van de liefde* (Rotterdam, 1986), p. 71.

⁵³ Cf. Esin, “Türk Sanatında At”, p. 72, where she refers to *yorga* = *rahvan/rahvar* (ambling).

⁵⁴ TSMA, D. 7998/5 and D 7998/6.

⁵⁵ Alberto Bacchi della Lega (ed.), *Viaggio a Costantinopoli di Tommaso Alberti (1609–1621)* (Bologna, 1889), p. 57.

⁵⁶ For details see Murat Uluskan, “Osmanlı Diplomatik Hediye Geleneğine Bir Örnek: Avusturya İmparatoruna Gönderilen Hediyeler ve Bunların Temini (1665–1699)”, Emine Gürsoy-Naskali (ed.) *Hediye Kitabı* (forthcoming). I would like to thank the author for providing me with his unpublished manuscript.

⁵⁷ TSMA, E. 3957/11.

⁵⁸ The yearly tribute of the Moldavian Princes to the Porte, for example, contained next to 4,000 gold pieces and 14 falcons also 40 horses; cf. Dimitrie Cantemir, *Beschreibung der Moldau* (Frankfurt, Leipzig 1771, repr. Bukarest: Kriterion, 1973), p. 252.

⁵⁹ The entries in this register are dated between 17 Şevval 1049 (2.10.1640), and *gurre-i Şevval* 1057 (30.10.1647). A number of remarks explain that the recorded items were gifts for religious holidays.

⁶⁰ The Turcoman tribes of this area were renowned as horse breeders.

⁶¹ The term *Çerkezî* (Circassian) might point to the horse type presented with the equipment. In the Uzunyayla area still (or again?) today some horse breeders raise Circassian (Kabardin) horses. Cf. <http://www.circassianworld.com/Uzunyaylahorses.html>.

⁶² Faruk Sümer, *Türkler'de Atçılık ve Binicilik*. I. s.l. (Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı) 1983, p. 53.

with silver and gold embroidery in a design of Rumi leaves, stirrups (*rikâb*) plated with gold, saddle-knob (? *topuz*)⁶³ of gilded silver, saddle-pad (*teğelti*) of black velvet with silver embroidered edges.⁶⁴ Although Mustafa Çelebi's presents form a long list, the horse equipment was rather modest, compared to that presented by other dignitaries. Yet, the registered items were without doubt only accessories accompanying nine horses (which must have been recorded in a different register).

The real treat at this occasion came from the grandees of state. The Grand Vizier's offer must have turned any horse into a dazzling, scintillating mythical creature of a fairy tale: the saddle of silver and gold embroidered red velvet was additionally bedecked with emeralds and pearls in different numbers and sizes. While the stirrups were again gilded silver, the bridles were of pure gold (*zer-i sâfi*), encrusted with rubies and emeralds. The jewellery worn on the horse's forehead (*alındırık*) had the form of a tulip adorned with two emeralds and one ruby. Its decorative platelets (*bafteha*) were adorned with 116 rubies and 116 emeralds. The breast-band was again made of pure gold encrusted with rubies and emeralds. A golden chain, a double-edged scimitar (*gaddare*), again of pure gold, with a design of Rumi leaves, and a hilt of fishbone (? *şir-i mahî*), encrusted with six rubies, and finally a horsecloth (*dikdik*) of purple velvet from Aleppo completed the equipment.⁶⁵

The rest of the register's entries list with annoying precision forty gift packages of the same kind. The main variations in this record are the names and ranks of different donors and the value and luxury of the precious and semi-precious stones used in the different items of horse equipment.

The attitude perceivable from archival documents is also documented in surviving artefacts. A short glance to the exhibition of the "Türkenbeute" (Turkish spoils) in the castle museum of Karlsruhe⁶⁶ yields once more the observation that the equipment was more important than the horse itself. The latter was, beyond its practical use as means of mobility, a splendid "carrier" of opulence. The costliness of thoroughbred horses was more than matched by what surrounded the animal's large body surface, facilitating as it did an advertisement of its owner by means of conspicuous consumption.

The frequency, number and costliness of mounts, bridles and trappings as gifts was more often than not topped by luxury textiles presented to the monarch and members of the ruling elite. Thus, the arrowhead of gifts was obviously directed to indicate status – that of the donor as well as that of the receiver. In general, gift giving in the pre-modern Ottoman Empire was a special form of conspicuous consumption. The emphasis on clothing and horse trappings indicates that these two domains were creating the major leeway to demonstrate distinction in public for the upper echelons of society. Hence, noble horses were not only elegant, quick and more or less comfortable means of locomotion, they had unquestionably two more functions: marking rank on one hand, and serving on the other hand as background for silver, golden and jewelled trappings. We might compare this phenomenon in a way with the architectural setting of the Ottoman royal residence, the Topkapı Sarayı, where power was not demonstrated by monumentality, since the Palace served as a ceremonial arena in which supremacy was displayed by manpower, i.e. by great numbers of well-fed, well-dressed servants.⁶⁷

⁶³ Sümer, *Türkler'de Atçılık*, pp. 40-41.

⁶⁴ TKsMA, D. 9591, fol. 6 b – 7 a.

⁶⁵ TKsMA, D. 9591, fol. 7 a – 7 b.

⁶⁶ Cf. Badisches Landmuseum Karlsruhe, *Die Karlsruher Türkenbeute: die »Türkische Kammer« des Markgrafen Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden-Baden. Die »Türkischen Curiositäten« von Baden-Durlach* (München: Hirmer, 1991), pp. 95-168.

⁶⁷ Cf. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass, London: The MIT Press, 1991).

Muḥammad zu Pferde im Kampf: Ein Beispiel für das Genre der *Furūsiyya an-nabawiyya* während der Mamlukenzeit (1250–1517)

Stephan CONERMANN¹

Europäischen Reisenden, die in das Mamlukenreich kamen, fiel sehr schnell auf, dass den einheimischen Muslimen in der Regel die Benutzung eines Pferdes bei Strafe verboten war.² Nur die eigentlichen Mamluken, also die kiptschakischen oder tscherkessischen Mitglieder der Herrschaftselite, durften sich hoch zu Ross fortbewegen.³ Der aus Córdoba stammende Pero Tafur (1410–1487)⁴ weiß gar zu berichten, dass Mauren das Besteigen und Führen eines Pferdes bei Todesstrafe untersagt sei und alle Meriten eines ordentlichen Ritters allein den Mamluken zukämen.⁵ Und auch der Kölner Reisende Arnold von Harff (1471–1505)⁶ erzählt in seinem Fahrtenbuch, dass unter den Mamluken das Pferd als das wichtigste Zeichen eines hohen gesellschaftlichen Ranges gelte.⁷ Sowohl die Emire und die einfachen Mamluken wie auch die Sultane gaben in vielen Fällen sehr viel Geld für die Zucht und die Anschaffung guter Reittiere aus. Berühmt sind, Ulrich Haarmann erwähnt es in einem seiner Aufsätze, die Geldmittel, die der Herrscher al-Malik an-Nāṣir (reg. 1293–1341) im frühen 14. Jahrhundert in seine Gestüte investierte.⁸ Neben dem alleinigen Recht auf die Benutzung von Pferden behielt man sich allerdings auch vor, Waffen, d.h. also Schwert, Bogen und Lanze, zu tragen.

Die Kavallerie war seit Beginn der mamlukischen Herrschaft über Ägypten und Syrien das Herzstück der Armee. Seit der Schlacht von ‘Ayn Ġālūt im Jahre 1260⁹ galten die Mamluken als Garant einer erfolgreichen Mongolenabwehr. Von diesem Nimbus zehrten die turkstämmigen Machthaber im Grunde bis zum Ende ihrer Herrschaft. Die gelungene Verteidigung gegen die bis dahin als unbesiegbar geltenden mongolischen Heere diente als Legitimationsbasis der Fremdherrschaft in Ägypten. Erstaunlicherweise sind die Mamluken bis zu der Zeit der Kämpfe gegen die Osmanen zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts nie wieder wirklich gefordert gewesen. Das militärische Überlegenheitsgefühl gegen von außen anstürmende Gegner war eine Illusion, die man hegte und pflegte und durch ritualisierte militärische Übungen und ein anspruchsvolles Training am Leben erhielt.¹⁰

Im Laufe der Zeit entwickelte sich auch ein breites Schrifttum über die militärischen Künste. Man fasste diese Literatur unter dem Begriff *furūsiyya*-Werke zusammen, wobei *furūsiyya* „all die von einem *fāris*, einem Kavalleristen, verlangten und sorgfältig einzuübenden technischen und militärischen Fertigkeiten“¹¹ meint. Darunter verstanden die Zeitgenossen allerdings nicht nur den Umgang mit Lanze, Kampfbogen und Hieb- und Stichwaffen, sondern auch hippologische Kenntnis. Hinzu kamen auch solche wichtigen Dinge

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² Zu europäischen Reiseberichten als Quelle für das Mamlukenreich siehe Haarmann 2001.

³ Vgl. zum Folgenden Haarmann 1994.

⁴ Zu Pero Tafur siehe Meregalli 1987.

⁵ Tafur, Tavel, S. 74. Zitiert nach Haarmann 1994, S. 226.

⁶ Ein Lebensabriss findet sich bei Delabar 1989.

⁷ Vgl. Harff, Pilgerfahrt, S. 122. Zitiert nach Haarmann 1994, S. 226.

⁸ Vgl. ebda.

⁹ Vgl. zu diesem Ereignis Smith 1984, Thorau 1985, Amitai 1992 und Halperin 2000.

¹⁰ Vgl. Fuess 2003, S. 245–246.

¹¹ Haarmann 1994, S. 233.

wie der Lanzenport, der Kampf mit dem stumpfen, gerundeten Kurzsword, Pferdepolo, Ringen und Bogenschießen.¹²

Die mamlukischen Autoren der Abhandlungen zum Thema *furūsiyya* konnten auf eine lange Tradition arabischer Texte zur Kampf- und Turnierpraxis zurückgreifen, die ihrerseits auf byzantinischen, klassischen und sassanidischen Vorlagen beruhten.¹³ Die ersten eigenständigen Arbeiten entstanden wohl im 9. Jahrhundert am Bagdader Abbasidenhof.¹⁴ Während der Mamlukenzeit formten sich zwei Subgenres der Gattung. Auf der einen Seite gab es ideologiefreie Traktate wie beispielsweise Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥanafī al-Aqṣarāʾī (st. 1348) *Nihāyat as-suʾl wal-umniyya fī ʿilm al-furūsiyya*.¹⁵ Auf der anderen Seite finden wir aber auch Militär- und *furūsiyya*-Schriften, in denen „die Gegebenheiten der Zeit zumindest vordergründig zurücktreten und vorrangig die normsetzende ideale Vergangenheit aus der Zeit des Propheten und seiner Gefährten beschworen wird.“¹⁶ Diese Vorgehensweise der Gelehrten, Inhalte durch den Rückgriff auf den Koran und die Sunna islamisch zu legitimieren, war allerdings keine auf die Militärstudien bezogene Ausnahme, sondern begegnet uns in vielen muslimischen Textsorten. Ein gutes Exemplum stellen etwa die islamischen Schriften zur Medizin dar.¹⁷

Bis zum 11. Jahrhundert hatte sich im Rahmen der allgemeinen Rezeption griechischen Denkens¹⁸ innerhalb des von Muslimen kontrollierten Raumes eine griechisch-islamische Medizin herausgebildet.¹⁹ Gleichzeitig entwickelten jedoch die Religionsgelehrten ganz bewusst eine alternative Heilkunde, die sich auf die Offenbarung und die in den Ḥadīṭ-Werken gesammelten Überlieferungen von den Handlungen und Aussagen des Propheten stützte. Diese Subgattung trug den bezeichnenden Namen „Prophetenmedizin“ (*aṭ-ṭibb an-nabawī*). Die Autoren versuchten darzulegen, dass die meisten medizinischen Prinzipien und Lehren bereits im Koran und in der Sunna enthalten seien, ohne dass die von Muḥammad selbst geäußerten Ansichten und durchgeführten Praktiken zu diesem Thema den gängigen griechischen Theorien widersprächen. Auch waren die Gelehrten nicht rückwärtsgewandt, sondern wünschten auf der von ihnen gelegten Basis einen Fortschritt in der Heilkunst. Als Quellen für die Sunna standen ihnen die großen Ḥadīṭ-Sammlungen des 9. Jahrhunderts zur Verfügung, in denen sich eine ganze Reihe von Überlieferungen zu medizinischen Belangen findet. Normalerweise gibt es in diesen Büchern sogar eigene Kapitel mit medizinrelevanten Traditionen. So hat al-Buḥārī (st. 870) *aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* einen Abschnitt „Über die Kranken“ (*K. al-marḍā*), und in Ibn Māǧas (st. 887) *Sunan* werden alle heilkundlichen Ḥadīṭe in einem Abschnitt „Über die Medizin“ (*K. aṭ-ṭibb*) zusammengefasst.

Derartige Überlieferungsstränge, die sich ausschließlich mit einem einzigen Themenkomplex befassen, stachelten schon sehr früh den Ehrgeiz einiger *ʿulamāʾ* an, Spezialsammlungen zu erstellen. Aus diesem Grund verwundert es auch nicht sehr, dass eine Reihe von Büchern auf uns gekommen ist, in denen wir ausschließlich Ḥadīṭe medizinischen Inhaltes antreffen. Diese Werke stehen sogar am Anfang der Prophetenmedizin. Die ältesten Bücher, die den Titel *aṭ-ṭibb an-nabawī* tragen, stammen aus dem 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Das umfangreichste dieser Kompendien, in dem insgesamt 838 Überlieferungen zitiert werden, schrieb der aus Raǧab stammende Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (st. 1038).²⁰

Dieser literarische Trend beschränkte sich nicht nur auf das sunnitische Gelehrtentum. Vielmehr fertigten auch schiitische *ʿulamāʾ* Sammlungen mit den medizinrelevanten Reden und Taten der Imame an. Zu der Prophetenmedizin gesellte sich nun die „Imamorientierte Heilkunst“ (*ṭibb al-aʿimma*).

Die frühen Kompendien – sunnitisch wie schiitisch – stellten reine Auflistungen der Überlieferungen dar. Erst im Laufe der Zeit kamen Analysen und weiterführende Erklärungen des Materials hinzu. Im 13.

¹² Vgl. ebda.

¹³ Einen Überblick gibt jetzt al-Sarraf 2004.

¹⁴ Vgl. ebda., S. 148–152.

¹⁵ Hg. von Abul Lais Syed Muḥammad Lutfūl-Huq im Rahmen einer Londoner Dissertation (= Aqṣarāʾī, *Nihāyat*).

¹⁶ Haarmann 1984, S. 236.

¹⁷ Zum folgenden Exkurs über die Prophetenmedizin vgl. Perho 1995 und 2003.

¹⁸ Einen Einstieg in das Thema bietet Gutas 1998.

¹⁹ Einen ersten Überblick findet man bei Savage-Smith 1996.

²⁰ Siehe zu ihm und zu den Handschriften seines Werkes neben Pedersen 1960 und Recep 1969 auch GAL I, S. 445–446 bzw. S I, S. 616–617.

Jahrhundert kommentierte der praktizierende Arzt ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī (st. 629/1231)²¹ in dem von einem seiner Schüler zusammengestellten Werk „Vierzig medizinkundliche Traditionen“ (*al-Arbaʿīn at-ṭibbiyya*)²² erstmals ausführlich einige Aussprüche des Propheten. Er wies nach, dass die Muhammads medizinischen Ratschläge und Anweisungen auch für die griechisch-islamische Medizin akzeptabel waren.

In der Folgezeit entfernte man sich von der Kommentierung einzelner Ḥadīṭe und präsentierte die Prophetenmedizin in Form von systematischen Abhandlungen. Diesen Schritt zur wirklichen *Ṭibb an-nabawī* vollzogen im 14. Jahrhundert vor allem die beiden Gelehrten Muḥammad aḍ-Ḍahabī (st. 1348)²³ und Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyya (st. 1350).²⁴

Da uns der letztere weiter unten im Zusammenhang mit der *Furūsiyya*-Literatur noch interessieren wird, sei an dieser Stelle kurz sein Lebenslauf nachgezeichnet: Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyya wird 1292 in Damaskus als Sohn des Vorstehers (*qayyim*) in der Madrasa al-Ġawziyya, die dem ḥanbalitischen Oberkadi als Gerichtshof dient, geboren. Er erhält eine ausgezeichnete Erziehung und Ausbildung, nach 1312 unter anderem bei dem berühmten Gelehrten Ibn Taymiyya (st. 1328). Später entwickelt sich Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyya zu einem dezidierten Gegner der Ideen von Ibn ‘Arabī (st. 1240). Gleichzeitig mit seinem Lehrer verhaftet man ihn im Jahre 1326 und wirft ihn in das Gefängnis der Damaszener Zitadelle. Erst als Ibn Taymiyya zwei Jahre später stirbt, kommt Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyya frei. 1331–2 unternimmt der die Wallfahrt nach Mekka, und 1336 hält er seine erste Predigt in der Moschee, die Naḡm ad-Dīn b. Ḥallikān in den Gärten von Ġūṭa hatte erbauen lassen. Von 1342 an bis zu seinem Tode unterrichtet er Koranexegese, Ḥadīṭwissenschaften und Jurisprudenz in der Madrasa aṣ-Ṣadriyya. Unter den Zeitgenossen gilt er als herausragender ḥanbalitischer Theologe.

In ihren Werken zur Prophetenmedizin versuchen Muḥammad aḍ-Ḍahabī und Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyya nicht nur Überlieferungen zu einzelnen Krankheiten und deren Therapie vorzustellen und zu analysieren. Vielmehr stellen sie die Ḥadīṭe in einen größeren medizinischen Zusammenhang, indem sie sie im Rahmen der gängigen Medizintheorien besprechen. Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyya stellt etwa in seiner Studie erst einmal die wichtigsten und gängigsten methodischen Zugänge zur medizinischen Wissenschaft vor. Detailliert geht er dann allerdings nur auf die Krankheiten ein, über die der Prophet im Laufe seines Lebens gesprochen hat. Einen wichtigen Punkt seiner Abhandlung stellen die göttlichen Medikamente (*adwiya nabawiyya*) dar: *ṣalāt*, *ṣabr*, *ṣawm*, *ġihād*, der Koran selbst sowie religiöse Beschwörungen (*ruqan*). Diese Heilmittel konnten, seiner Meinung nach, dazu dienen, physische Erkrankungen zu lindern, wobei ihre Wirkungskraft auf ihrer spirituellen Kraft beruhte. Muḥammad aḍ-Ḍahabī und Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyya ermöglichten es letzten Endes, eine medizinische Praxis zu erschaffen, die ausschließlich islamisch war, d.h. auf dem Koran und der Sunna basierte. Beide wollten jedoch keinesfalls die griechisch-islamische Medizin zurückweisen, sondern diese um eine islamische Dimension erweitern. Selbst der überaus renommierte Gelehrte und Vielschreiber as-Suyūṭī (st. 1505)²⁵ verfasste mit dem *al-Manhaġ as-sawī wal-manhal ar-rawī fī ṭ-ṭibb an-nabawī*²⁶ ein Werk zur Prophetenmedizin. Allerdings ist dieser Text nur eine unkommentierte Sammlung von Ḥadīṭen und keine systematische Abhandlung. Die Prophetenmedizin blieb in den nächsten Jahrhunderten ein Genre, das auch von Religionsgelehrten gerne aufgegriffen wurde, wobei die medizinische Standardliteratur aufs Ganze gesehen bis zum 18. Jahrhundert eindeutig aus in erster Linie griechisch-islamischen Werken bestand.

Eine ähnliche Entwicklung wie in der Prophetenmedizin gibt es, wie gesagt, auch in der *furūsiyya*-Literatur. Auf der einen Seite haben wir Texte von Militärexperten, die in systematischer Weise und aus der Praxis heraus das Thema behandeln. Auf der anderen Seite stehen die Gelehrten, die ihre Argumente auf der

²¹ Zu seiner Person siehe neben Stern 1960 auch GAL I, S. 632–633 bzw. S I, S. 880.

²² Zu den Handschriften siehe Perho 1985, S. 56, Anm. 194.

²³ Auf Muḥammad aḍ-Ḍahabī geht ein: Ben Cheneb/Somogyi 1965. Zu seinem *aṭ-Ṭibb an-nabawī*-Text siehe Perho 1985, S. 13–14 und 34–36.

²⁴ Zur Vita und zum Œuvre siehe Laoust 1971.

²⁵ Als Einführung zu as-Suyūṭī eignet sich Geoffrey 1997.

²⁶ Hg. von Ḥasan Maqbūlī. Beirut 1986 (=as-Suyūṭī, *al-Manhaġ*).

prophetischen Überlieferung und der Offenbarung aufbauen. In Anlehnung an die Bezeichnung *aṭ-ṭibb an-nabawī* wird diese Literaturgattung *al-furūsiyya an-nabawiyya* bzw. *al-furūsiyya al-muḥammadiyya* genannt.

Während der Mamlukenzeit entstand für die einheimischen *‘ulamā’* ein großes Problem: zum einen waren ihnen die Mamluken zutiefst zuwider, zum anderen wussten sie aber sehr gut, dass nur die Türken die Macht hatten, im Lande für Ordnung und Sicherheit zu sorgen und nach außen hin den sunnitischen Islam gegen seine Feinde zu verteidigen. In einem seiner Aufsätze hat Ulrich Haarmann sehr schön untersucht, wie die ägyptisch-syrischen Gelehrten mit diesem Dilemma in ihren *furūsiyya*-Werken umgegangen sind. Als Basis für seine Analyse benutzte er drei Texte, die von Autoren aus dem juristisch-religiösen Lager stammen und daher „nicht das Kriegswesen der eigenen Zeit, sondern die für diesen Wettkampf, Krieg und Sport verbindliche *Sunna* (...) bevorzugt abgehandelt“²⁷ haben: 1. as-Saḥāwīs (st. 1497) *al-Qawl at-tāmm fī faḍl ar-ramy bis-sihām*²⁸; 2. as-Suyūṭīs (st. 1505): *Ġars al-anšāb fī r-ramy bin-nuṣṣāb*²⁹ sowie 3. das *K. al-Furūsiyya (aš-šar‘iyya an-nabawiyya)* aus der Feder des oben bereits näher vorgestellten Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyya.³⁰ In diesem Werk „über die (schariatgemäßen, vom Propheten praktizierten) ritterlichen Künste“ geht es grundsätzlich um die religiöse Fundierung der *furūsiyya*, also etwa um die Diskussion, welche öffentlichen Belustigungen als nützlich bzw. als schädlich angesehen werden können,³¹ welche Fragen unter den Rechtsschulen strittig sind³² oder ob es des expliziten „Für-Erlaubt-Erklärens“ kämpferischer Aktivitäten bedarf.³³ Darüber hinaus kommen jedoch auch – immer unter Bezugnahme auf die Praxis des Propheten – gegenwartsbezogene Themen wie die Position des Schützen,³⁴ die verschiedenen Arten der *furūsiyya*,³⁵ die eisernen Grundsätze des Bogenschießens,³⁶ der Unterschied zwischen Mut und Kraft³⁷ oder die Stufen der Tapferkeit³⁸ zur Sprache.

Im Folgenden soll zu Veranschaulichung des Genres der *furūsiyya an-nabawiyya* ein Auszug aus Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyyas Werk in Übersetzung wiedergegeben werden, in dem es darum geht, ob das islamische Recht gewisse Formen von Schießwettkämpfen, verschiedene Arten von Bögen oder den Wettlauf zwischen Kamelen und Pferden zulässt:

Wenn ein Mann zu einem anderen sagt: ‚Wirf diesen Pfeil! Und wenn du mit ihm triffst, bekommst du einen Dirham‘, oder [wenn er sagt:] ‚Antworte auf diese Frage! Und wenn du richtig antwortest, bekommst du so und so viel‘, oder [wenn er sagt:] ‚Lerne dieses Buch auswendig, dann bekommst du so und so viel‘, so ist dies zulässig, da es eine Belohnung darstellt, die nichts mit einem Vertrag eines [illegitimen] Wettstreites zu tun hat. Beide geben Geld aus für ein Tun, welches ein zulässiges Ziel hat, weil der Wettstreit bloß zwischen zweien stattfindet, wobei die oben genannte Belohnung für deren Besitzer ist. Wenn er jedoch sagt: ‚Wenn du triffst, bekommst du einen Dirham, und wenn du nicht triffst, dann zahlst du einen Dirham‘, dann ist das nicht zulässig, denn das ist ein Glücksspiel. Und genauso ist es nicht erlaubt, wenn er sagt: ‚Wenn du [dieses Buch] auswendig gelernt hast, so bekommst du hundert [Dirham]. Und wenn du es nicht vermagst, so schuldest du mir hundert‘. Und wenn er sagt: ‚Schieße zehn Pfeile‘, oder: ‚Beantworte mir diese zehn Fragen! Und wenn deine Treffer mehr sind als deine Fehler, so bekommst du einen Dirham‘, so ist das legitim, denn er gibt den Lohn für die [zuvor] festgelegte Treffer[quote]. Und dies ist der größere Teil von zehn [nämlich sechs oder mehr], wobei das keine unbekannte [Größe] ist. Genauso wäre es richtig, wenn er gesagt hätte: ‚Wenn du mehr Treffer hast [als Fehler], so bekommst du für jeden Treffer einen Dirham.‘ Und wenn er gesagt hätte: ‚Du bekommst für jeden Treffer einen Dirham‘, so ist das rechtmäßig, auch wenn er nicht zur Bedingung macht, dass [die Zahl] der Treffer größer oder gleich sein müsse. Und wenn er gesagt hätte: ‚Wenn du sie [alle] triffst, so bekommst du für jeden Treffer einen Dirham‘, so ist das in Ordnung. Ebenso, wenn er gesagt hätte, ‚Aber wenn du nur neun triffst, hast du überhaupt keinen Anspruch [auf das Geld].‘ Wenn aber der Pfeilschütze zu einem Fremden sagte: ‚Wenn ich diesen Pfeil nicht treffe,

²⁷ Haarmann 1994, S. 237.

²⁸ Zu diesem Text siehe GAL II, S. 44, Nr. 16.

²⁹ Zu as-Suyūṭīs Abhandlung siehe GAL II, S. 198, Nr. 233.

³⁰ Hg. von ‘Izzat al-‘Aṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī. Kairo 1942. 2. Aufl. Beirut o.J. unter dem Titel „al-Furūsiyya al-muḥammadiyya“ (= Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyya, al-Furūsiyya).

³¹ Vgl. Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyya, al-Furūsiyya, S. 23-26.

³² Vgl. ebda., S. 54-55.

³³ Vgl. ebda., S. 37-38.

³⁴ Vgl. ebda., S. 110-111.

³⁵ Vgl. ebda., S. 107-109.

³⁶ Vgl. ebda., S. 118-120.

³⁷ Vgl. ebda., S. 124-128.

³⁸ Vgl. ebda., S. 129-130.

bekommst du [diesen] Dirham‘, oder: ‚Wenn ich diese Frage nicht beantworten kann, bekommst du einen Dirham‘, so ist das nicht legitim, denn der Lohn soll die Gegenleistung für eine Arbeit sein, und der Fremde hat [damit] keine Arbeit [verrichtet]. Wenn er aber sagen würde: ‚Wenn ich verfehle, so verspreche ich dir einen Dirham‘, oder: ‚Dann gebe ich das, was in meiner Hand ist als Almosen, oder: ‚Dann faste ich einen Monat‘, oder: ‚Dann lasse ich einen Sklaven frei‘[, dann wäre dies einwandfrei]. Dies ist [nämlich] ein Versprechen mit Schwur, und man nennt es ein Versprechen der Rechthaberei und des Zornes, wenn es gar nicht seine Absicht lag, das Versprechen einzulösen. Man ist uneinig bezüglich dessen, was ihm obliegt im Falle des Meineides. Es gibt [dazu] drei verschiedene Meinungen. Diese sind nach aš-Šāfi‘:

Erstens: Die Notwendigkeit der Einhaltung des Versprechens, sei es was auch immer es sei. Das ist die Meinung der Rechtsschule von Mālik und von Abū Ḥanifa nach den Bekannteren der beiden Aussagen.

Zweitens: Man erwägt eine Entsöhnung, die durch nichts anderes vergolten werden kann. Das ist eine Aussage der Rechtsschulen von Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal].

Drittens: man stellt ihn vor sie Wahl einzulösen [, was er versprochen hat], oder den Meineid zu sühnen. Das ist die gängige Meinung der Rechtsschule von Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal] und aš-Šāfi‘.

Wenn wir die Sühne für nötig halten und er dann noch sein Gelübde erfüllt, ist dann die Sühne hinfällig? Darüber gibt es bei den Schafiiten zwei Auffassungen. Abū Ma‘ālī und andere erklären alle die für falsch, die dafür plädieren, dass es hinfällig ist. Aber es ist kein Irrtum, vielmehr ist es eindeutig richtig, denn die Wiedergutmachung ist nur nötig bei Meineid. Aber wenn er sein Gelöbnis erfüllt hat, so hat er den Meineid gebrochen und es bleibt kein Grund für die Notwendigkeit der Sühne. Wenn gesagt wird: dieser Vertrag ist verbindlich, ist das die Sühne. Sagen wir ja. Der Sinn des Ganzen ist, dass es sich um einen Eid handelt und dessen Verbindlichkeit im Falle des Meineides ist die Sühne, wobei er keinen Meineid begeht, wenn er den Eid [nachträglich] doch erfüllt. Und dies macht deutlich: wenn er das schwört im Namen Gottes des Erhabenen und Allmächtigen und es einhält, dann ist die Buße nicht nötig, und wenn er sagt: ‚Bei Gott, wenn du das und das tust, dann zahle ich Almosen‘ und es daraufhin auch tut, dann ist die Buße nicht nötig.

Ein [neues] Kapitel: Wenn die zwei eine Art von Bögen festlegen, so ist sie festgelegt, und eine Abweichung ist nur erlaubt bei gegenseitiger Übereinstimmung. Und wenn die beiden einen ganz bestimmten Bogen festlegen, so ist er nicht festgelegt, und der Austausch durch einen anderen der[selben] Art ist erlaubt. Der Unterschied zwischen beiden [Fällen] ist, dass der einer der beiden [möglicherweise] geschickter im Schießen mit einer der beiden Arten [von Bögen] als mit der anderen ist, denn die andere Art nimmt nicht die Stelle der bestimmten Art ein, es sei denn, man bestimmt den Bogen einer anderen einheitlichen Art. Der Bogen der bestimmten Art kann nämlich auch zerbrechen und muss ersetzt werden, denn das Geschick unterscheidet sich nicht nach der Verschiedenheit der Bögen im Gegensatz zur Art.

Ein [neues] Kapitel: Wenn beide miteinander wetteifern, wobei der eine mit einem arabischen Bogen schießt und der andere mit einem persischen oder der eine mit einem Bogen aus Olivenholz und der andere mit einer Armbrust [*qaws al-ğarah*], wobei beide Fußbögen sind, so ist das zulässig bei al-Qāḍī [Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal] und bei aš-Šāfi‘, wie vorangegangen [erwähnt]. Wenn einer der Bögen ein Handbogen und der andere ein Fußbogen ist, so ist das nicht zulässig. Der Unterschied zwischen beiden ist, dass wir es im ersten Fall mit zwei Arten derselben Gattung zu tun haben. Der Wettstreit ist zulässig trotz ihrer Unterschiedlichkeit im Sinne der Unterschiede [innerhalb] der Gattungen Pferd und Kamel. Und im zweiten Fall sind es zwei verschiedene Gattungen, wobei der Wettkampf zwischen ihnen nicht zulässig ist, so wie der Wettstreit zwischen Pferd und Kamel nicht zulässig ist.

Ein [neues] Kapitel: Wenn die Abmachung des Wettstreites angewendet wird, wobei sie eine gewisse Gewohnheit haben in der Art des Bogens, so ist das legitim und der Wettstreit kann in seiner Absolutheit losgehen. Wenn ihre Gewohnheiten unterschiedlich sind und es darin eine Dominanz in einer Form gibt, so wird nach der dominanten Form verfahren. Wenn sie ausgewogen sind, muss die Art festgelegt werden, damit ein Konflikt zwischen ihnen vermieden wird. Wenn beide davon reden, dass ‚wir mit dem *nuššāb* schießen‘, so weist das auf den persischen Bogen hin, welcher der Kampfbogen des heutigen Heeres ist, weil er [*nuššāb*] der Name speziell für seine Pfeile ist. Wenn beide sagen: ‚Wir schießen mit dem *nabl*‘, [so] weist [das] auf den arabischen Bogen, weil seine Pfeile mit ‚*nabl*‘ bezeichnet werden. Dies [alles gilt], sofern keine Bedingung und kein allgemeingültiger oder mehrheitlicher Usus vorliegt.

Ein [neues] Kapitel: Der Imam Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal] hat sich schon bezüglich der Rechtmäßigkeit des Wettbewerbs mit den persischen Bögen geäußert und hat das Schießen mit ihnen erlaubt. Abū Bakr von unseren [hanbalitischen] Genossen missbilligte [es] und argumentierte, dass der Prophet bei einem Mann einen persischen Bogen sah und gesagt har: ‚Wirf ihn weg, denn er ist verdammt; vielmehr obliegt es euch, die arabischen Bögen und den Wurfspieß mit einem Rohrschaft zu benutzen, denn damit stützt Gott den Glauben und damit verleiht Gott euch Macht auf Erden‘. Das entschieden Richtige besteht darin, dass er das Schießen mit ihnen [d.h. mit dem persischen Bogen, S.C.] nicht rigoros verabscheute und auch nicht den Wettkampf auf ihrer

Grundlage. Der Konsens der *umma* ist dahingehend geschlossen worden, dass das Schießen mit ihnen [d.h. mit den persischen Bögen, S.C.] und ihr Tragen erlaubt sei, denn er [d.h. der persische Bogen, S.C.] ist es schließlich, mit dem der *ḡihād* in unserer Zeit geführt und der Feind vernichtet wird. Durch ihn [d.h. den persischen Bogen, S.C.] gewinnt der Islam an Macht, durch ihn wird den Polytheisten Furcht eingejagt und die Absicht [des *Ḥadīṭ*] ist die Unterstützung der Religion und der Sieg über deren Feinde. Es geht nicht um die Individualität und Gattung des Bogens. Gott der Erhabene sprach: ‚Und rüstet für sie, soviel ihr an Kriegsmacht [aufzubringen] vermögt‘ [Sure 8, Vers 60], Das Schießen mit diesen Bögen zählt zu diesen bereitgestellten Kräften, sagte doch der Prophet, Gott segne ihn: ‚Schießt und reitet – und wenn ihr schießt, ist mir das lieber als wenn ihr reitet.‘

Er hat nicht eine Art einer anderen Art Bogen vorgezogen, und die Worte waren nicht zeitlich begrenzt, sondern gelten für seine [d.h. die Zeit des Propheten] und die ganze Gemeinschaft bis zum Tage des Jüngsten Gerichtes. Er hat jeder Glaubensgemeinschaft Weisung gegeben, mit den Waffen zu kämpfen, die sie gewohnt waren. Die vorangegangenen Worte [des Propheten], die sich auf das Schießen beziehen und den Feind die Pfeile empfangen lassen, gelten als allgemeingültig für jegliche Art [des Bogens]. Es liegt darin keine Notwendigkeit zur Spezifizierung. Doch was das Verbot dessen [d.h. des persischen Bogens, S.C.] anbelangt, wenn es [d.h. das *Ḥadīṭ*, S.C.] richtig [überliefert] ist, so bezieht es sich auf eine ganz bestimmte Zeit, und zwar auf die, als die Araber das Heer des Islams waren und ihre Bögen arabische waren und ihre Worte in arabischer Sprache waren und ihre Instrumente und ihre Reitkunst arabisch waren. Das Schießen mit anderen Bögen und das Sprechen in anderen Sprachen waren damals ein gemeinsames Merkmal der ungläubigen Perser und der anderen Nicht-Arabern. Doch was diese [unsere] Zeit anbelangt, so sind die Bögen des islamischen Heeres persische oder türkische und ihre [d.h. der Soldaten, S.C.] Sprache, Geräte und *Furūsiyya* sind arabisch. Wenn ihnen dies missbilligt würde und wenn es ihnen verboten wäre, ginge es der Welt und der Religion schlecht. Dann wäre der Marktplatz des *ḡihād* leergefegt und die Ungläubigen würden die Muslime überwältigen, was das Unsinnigste des Unsinnigen wäre.

Wenn die Überlieferung richtig ist, hat der Prophet, Gott segne ihn, ihn [d.h. den persischen Bogen, S.C.] verflucht und befohlen, ihn wegzuworfen. Damals war er [d.h. der persische Bogen, S.C.] Kennzeichen der Ungläubigen und Götzendiener. Er verbot dem Mann, ihn zu tragen, weil es damals noch kein arabisches Volk gab. Und deswegen sagte er: ‚Euch obliegen die Rohrlanzen, denn sie wurden damals nicht benutzt, vielmehr wurde das gegen sie verwendet, was sie an Waffenstärke fürchteten.‘

Daraus ergibt sich: wenn wir eine Festung belagern würden, wäre die Armbrust dafür vorteilhafter als der Bogen, weil das Schießen mit der Armbrust angemessener ist als das Schießen mit dem Handbogen. Es wäre sogar Pflicht. Wenn das Schießen mit Wurfmaschinen zu ihrer Eroberung erforderlich ist, so hat es Priorität vor dem Bogenschützen allein; der Ungläubige ist ein Feind, und es ist beabsichtigt, ihn zu töten, wo auch immer möglich, wie man die Schlange und den bissigen Hund töten muss. Allen muslimischen Gruppen gebührt das Recht, mit dem Bogen und den Geräten und der Kampftechnik, die sie gewohnt sind, zu kämpfen. Würden die islamischen Heere heute vor den Augen des Propheten mit diesem persischen Bogen kämpfen und würden Gott und sein Gesandter durch ihn den Sieg verleihen, dann würde er ihn loben und preisen und es ihnen nicht verbieten. Mit Gott ist gutes Gelingen.

Kapitel: Über Wissenswertes beim Wettlauf von Pferden und Kamelen:

Relevant für den Start des Wettlaufes ist die Position der Füße, nicht die des Kopfes oder der Schultern. Es muss die Parallelität der Füße der beiden Reittiere gegeben sein. Doch was das Ende des Rennens anbelangt, so sind sich die Rechtsgelehrten uneinig [darüber]. Die Schafiiten [vertreten] drei Lehrsätze: Im ersten ist der Hals ausschlaggebend, im zweiten die Position der Füße und im dritten kommt es bei den Pferden auf den Hals und bei den Kamelen auf den Huf an. Das ist die Auffassung der *Ḥurāsān*er unter den Schafiiten. Die Iraker sagen: Wenn ein Unterschied zwischen den Hälsen [beim Übertreten der Ziellinie] besteht, dann ist das nicht zu berücksichtigen, und wenn sie auf gleicher Ebene sind, dann ist das Gegenstand dieser drei Lehrsätze.

Abū Maʿālī sagt: Wenn die Pferde ungleich sind in der Länge ihrer Nacken beim Laufen, obliegt die Berücksichtigung des Langen und des Kurzen, und wenn eines der beiden Pferde seinen Hals streckt und das andere seinen Hals hochhebt, so treten die drei Lehrsätze in Kraft. Wenn die beiden der Länge ihrer Hälse nach gleich sind, gilt die Voraussetzung der Gleichheit der Hälse [als Kriterium]. Die Schwäche dieser Argumentation ist offensichtlich, und es muss die fehlende Einsicht in die Texte aš-Šāfiʿs diesbezüglich in Rechnung gestellt werden.

Bei den Genossen von Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal] gibt es drei Verfahrensweisen. Eine davon ist, dass die Platzierung durch die Schulter die entscheidende ist. Das ist die Verfahrensweise von Abū l-Burkāt b. Taymiyya und anderen. Die zweite Verfahrensweise ist, dass der Wettkampf mit Kamelen durch die Schulter entschieden wird. Bei Pferden, deren Hälse gleich sind [d.h. in dem Moment, wenn sie ins Ziel kommen, S.C.], entscheidet der Kopf. Wenn sie ungleich sind, entscheidet die Schulter. Dies ist die Methode von Šayḥ Abū Muḥammad und anderen. Die dritte sagt, dass der Wettkampf insgesamt in allen Fällen durch die Füße entschieden wird. Dies ist [die] bevorzugte [Verfahrensweise] unseres Šayḥs Abū l-ʿAbbās b. Taymiyya. Sie ist diejenige, die Abū ʿAbdillāh b. Ḥamdān in seinem Werk *ar-Riʾāya* wählte. Sie ist eindeutig rechtsgültig mit Berücksichtigung des Rennbeginns

[d.h. der Regeln, die beim Start des Rennens gelten, S.C.] und unter Berücksichtigung [der Tatsache, dass] das Rennen eines Menschen mit den Füßen bewältigt wird.

Weil eines der Pferde körperlich länger sein kann als das andere, bedeutet dies, was den Wettkampf betrifft, wobei nur Schultern und Kopf berücksichtigt werden und gültig sind, dass gemäß ihrer Schultern entschieden wird. Wie kann man jemanden als zu spät gekommen beurteilen, dessen Hände zuerst ankamen und die dem Rest [des Körpers] vorangingen, wenn ihnen die Schulter oder der Kopf des anderen vorangegangen sind? Hieße das nicht, den Besiegten zum Sieger und den Sieger zum Besiegten zu machen?

Es ist bekannt, dass eines der Kamele oder Pferde, wenn eines seiner Hufe voranging, mittels genau des Werkzeuges des Wettkampfes Sieger gegenüber dem anderen ist, wobei kein Platz ist für den Kopf oder die Schulter. Vielleicht sind die Worte des at-Ṭhawrī, dass der Wettkampf aufgrund all dessen erlaubt sei, immer noch vorbildlicher als die Berücksichtigung des Kopfes und der Schulter. Dies ist der Vorschlag, den ‘Alī, Gott möge ihm Ehre erweisen, als erlaubt erklärte im Gegensatz zu Kopf und Schulter. Aber davon war schon die Rede. Es gibt dazu keine Überlieferung vom Propheten selbst oder von seinen Gefährten. Es ist offensichtlich, dass ihre Gewohnheiten die Relevanz des Wettkampfes auf Grundlage der Füße war wie beim Wettkampf der Menschen. Ansonsten ist der Name Wettkampf unverständlich. Daher wird keine eindeutige Überlieferung benötigt aufgrund der Zweifellosgkeit und Kontinuität der Gewohnheit diesbezüglich.

Über die Arten der Waffen und welche von ihnen [den Arten] bevorzugt werden.

Über die Arten der Bögen.

Es gibt im Prinzip nur zwei Arten. Es gibt den Handbogen und den Fußbogen, wobei vom Handbogen drei Unterarten existieren: der arabische, der persische und der türkische. Der arabische wiederum kennt zwei Unterformen: von diesen ist eine aus dem Ḥiḡāz, hergestellt aus Bogenholz [Maulbeerholz?] oder Bergbaumholz [Ahornart?]. Sie bestehen entweder aus einem Stück Holz oder aus zwei Stücken, die man *šariḥiyya* nennt, wobei man diejenigen Bögen, die aus nur einem Stück gefertigt sind, für Leute aus dem Ḥiḡāz als die besseren gelten.

Ein Dichter von ihnen [d.h. von den Leuten des Ḥiḡāz, S.C.] sprach:

„Schieß mit ihm, denn es handelt sich um einen ganzen Zweig
Wobei er drei Ellen und einen Finger lang sei.“

Dies sind die Bögen der Beduinen unter ihnen. Was die sesshaften Leute [im Ḥiḡāz] anbelangt, so umwickeln sie ihre Außenseite [der Bögen] [mit Sehnen] und verkleiden ihre Innenseite mit Ziegenhörnern. Man sieht diese Bögen kaum außerhalb der Region des Ḥiḡāz. Es wird sich ihrer nicht bedient an einem anderen Ort, und sie haben weder einen gekrümmten Bogenteil [Ohr] noch einen Griff. Die zweite Art von ihnen ist die *wāsiṭiyya*. Sie ist ein Erzeugnis aus vier Materialien: dem Holz, der Sehne, dem Horn und dem Leim. Sie hat weder einen gekrümmten Teil noch einen Griff; sie heißt *wāsiṭiyya*, weil sie sich in der Mitte befindet zwischen dem Bogen des Ḥiḡāz und dem persischen [Bogen] und nicht wegen [der Stadt] Wāsiṭ, denn sie war schon vorhanden, bevor Wāsiṭ erbaut wurde. Die Araber nannten sie *munfaṣila* wegen ihrer getrennten Bestandteile in Bezug auf ihre Zusammensetzung. Sie war der löblichste ihrer [d.h. der Araber, S.C.] Bögen. Unter diesen zwei Sorten gibt es noch viele Unterarten, die die zehn überschreiten.³⁹

Ich denke, man hat anhand dieses Textausschnittes sehr gut sehen können, wie in einer für das islamische Schrifttum nicht untypischen Art und Weise eine Textkohärenz durch den fortwährenden Bezug auf die Tradition erzeugt wird. Dieser Technik bedienten sich muslimische Autoren vor allem in religiös-normativen Werken, wobei hierzu auch viele Abhandlungen zählen, die man auf den ersten Blick eher den pragmatischen Wissenschaften zuordnen würde. So geht es auch in dem hier übersetzten Abschnitt aus einem *furūsiyya*-Werk vor allem um die Frage, ob bestimmte militärische oder zumindest mit der Kampfeskunst verbundene Praktiken dem islamischen Recht nach überhaupt erlaubt sind. Wie etwa bei der Prophetenmedizin legitimieren die muslimischen Gelehrten die Inhalte ihrer Militär-Schriften durch den Rückgriff auf den Koran und die Sunna. Es geht letzten Endes darum, zu prüfen, ob sich die Soldaten, in unserem Fall die Mamluken, auch den göttlichen Geboten konform verhalten.

³⁹ Ebda., S. 99-103. Diesen Text habe ich im WS 1997/98 auf Anraten Ulrich Haarmanns zusammen mit Studenten im Rahmen eines Lektürekurses gelesen. Ihnen allen möchte ich natürlich für Ihre rege Teilnahme an dieser Stelle danken.

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Zentralasien, die Seidenstraße und die Mongolen
Central Asia, the Silk Route, and the Mongols

From Pasture to Manger: The Evolution of Mongol Cavalry Logistics in Yuan China and its Consequences

John Masson SMITH, Jr.¹

Qubilai, grandson of Chinggis Qan and himself Qan of the Mongols (1260–94) in (disputed) succession to his brother, Möngke Qan (1251–59), was determined to renew the conquest of South China that Möngke had begun, but that had failed following Möngke's death during the campaign. Möngke's strategy had been a traditional Mongol encirclement aimed at gaining control of the Yangzi River valley. Möngke himself led an army toward the river near (modern) Chongqing in the west. Another, initially under Tagachar, aimed at (modern) Wuchang 武昌 in the east, and at Xiangyang 象陽 further upriver to prevent Song forces from moving upriver from the capital at Hangzhou 杭州 (Polo's Quinsay). Möngke would move downriver to join him and march together on Hangzhou. Taghachar, with "100,000 horsemen" attacked Xiangyang for a week, and then, probably because of the strength of the fortress city and the unsuitability of the cavalry for siege operations, pulled back and camped. Taghachar, accused drinking and eating instead of fighting, was replaced by Qubilai, who managed to get across the Yangzi further downriver; Möngke had not even reached it when he died.² Qubilai then retreated to Mongolia to claim the Qanate. But in the aborted campaign, and an earlier one into Yunnan 雲南, gave him understanding of the exigencies and hazards of war and especially siege warfare. During his siege of Yaozhou 姚州, he had lost eight tümens (probably to disease, which also felled Möngke) out of the ten in his command, and had to borrow from another force to maintain the siege.³ In planning his own Song war, he would not divide his troops in an encircling strategy, but concentrate them on a single target, the riverine fortress-city, Xiangyang, using a very, perhaps redundantly, large force in case of unpredictable, but certainly, for him, imaginable disaster. He would also prepare for the possibility of a long-term operation; he would have known that his brother, Hülegü, had been besieging, since 1256, the Assassins' mountain-top castle of Girdkuh in Northeastern Iran (it finally fell only in 1271, after fifteen years).⁴ Xiangyang in fact was to hold out from 1268 until 1273.

Qubilai decided also that he needed a different kind of army. The quintessential Mongol army was all cavalry: very light cavalry, with light mounts, light weaponry, and logistically light weight. Its great virtues were tactical and strategic mobility, enabled by numerous ponies and easy supply. The army, like most others of Inner Asia, originated in a pastoral nomadic society, which grazed a variety of animals, primarily sheep and goats, cattle, camels and ponies (not horses, as the inarable steppe did not provide the fodder essential to the raising of horses).⁵ These animals and their keepers could travel wherever grass and water was available, very widely indeed on steppe extending from Korea to Hungary. Entire nomad communities – men, women, children and the full complement of animals – could, and sometimes did so, slowly: sheep can move for only 3–4 miles a day. Nomad soldiers with families and sheep, etc., left at home could move far and fast, relying on ponies for transport, combat, and rations: the ponies eating grass, the men eating ponies. Chinggis' armies, and his successors', exploited this capability fully. Samuqa's campaign in North China in

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² Rashiduddin Fazlullah (author), W. M. Thackston (tr.), *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh: Compendium of Chronicles*, 3 vols. [hereinafter RaD] (Cambridge MA: Harvard, 1998–99), II, pp. 414–15.

³ RaD, II, p. 415.

⁴ RaD, III, pp. 535–36

⁵ The dividing line between ponies and horses is at 56 inches/14 "hands" (or 58/14 1/2 hands) from hoof to withers, the high point of the back. The "hand" is 4 inches.

1216–1217 moved at an average of 14 miles per day (mpd).⁶ Likewise, Ghazan's attack on Mamluk Syria in 1299–1300 proceeded from Iran at 15 mpd.⁷ And Batu's expedition from Mongolia across Inner Asia to the Volga in 1236 averaged some 16 mpd.⁸ But while ponies could take their riders almost anywhere, they could not carry much weight. Ponies weighing on (modern Mongolian) average 600 lbs are overloaded just by their riders – a horse's load should not exceed 17% of its body-weight⁹ – so the Mongol soldiers needed a string of them (five in Ghazan's 1299 army) to ride in rotation. Any additional burden, such as armor, impaired the ponies' stamina. Most Mongol soldiers therefore were protected only by leather jackets and carried only bows, arrows and, for close combat, a club or axe, weapons they could make for themselves (with the exception of axe-heads). Other armaments were weighty – 45 lbs for a man's coat of mail, twice as much for a horse's – and, since not likely to be home-made (unlike bows and arrows), expensive and therefore available mostly to the rich, until the conquest of settled societies with arms industries. Worn on, or by, overloaded ponies, mail limited its users to a mostly static role backing up the skirmishing, hit-and-run archers.¹⁰ This style of warfare served the Mongols very well for the most part, as the extent of their empire shows.

It was not so useful off the steppe, as in southern China. North China had steppe, arable grasslands and farmlands under grain crops like barley and wheat on which passing Mongol cavalry could graze their ponies. But southern China grew rice, and rice paddies made poor grazing and limited movement of ponies, as did forests, the natural vegetation of much of the region. Moreover, it was densely populated by villagers and townsmen potentially dangerous to mounted Mongols passing through narrow streets where they could not evade attack and their ponies gave no advantage and could even impede defense: the ponies stood only about five feet high or less, so that even an unarmed man on foot might seize its rider and wrest him from the saddle. Finally, as the Song armies had no cavalry, they largely refused battle in the open field, where they could be subjected to hit-and-run "pony-tactics."¹¹ The preferred positions for Song defense were behind rivers and fortifications. The ponies could not climb walls, and for the unarmored Mongols to do so was suicidal. Taking fortresses required men, preferably armored and expendable for the wall-climbing, and a large labor force, often working under missile attack, to dig trenches and tunnels, build palisades, set up artillery – to perform all the hazardous grunt-work of siege. River crossings needed ships and sailors. Given the tiny population of (Outer) Mongolia (perhaps around 700,000 at the end of the twelfth century) and the huge numbers in China, the Mongols meant to avoid heavy losses at all costs, and made their Chinese conscripts bear most of them. They had plenty of these conscripts: Qubilai's army in his Song war counted 30 *tümens* of Mongols and 80 *tümens* of Chinese.¹² The Mongol cavalymen were of most help not on horseback, but dismounted as archers supporting the assault troops by shooting Song soldiers off the walls, or sailors on Song ships, or at their own (Chinese) assault troops trying to leave the front lines.

The Mongols' ponies were not only of little utility in sieges, but constituted a logistical liability. A soldier requires about three pounds of food each day; a pony seven to nine lbs.¹³ A cavalryman accompanied by five

⁶ H. Desmond Martin, *The Rise of Chingis Khan and his Conquest of North China* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1950), p. 191 and map of "Chingis Khan's Campaigns in China, 1209–1227."

⁷ J.M. Smith, Jr., "'Ayn Jālūt: Mamlūk Success or Mongol Failure?," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 44 (1984), pp. 335–36.

⁸ The direct (airline) mileage Ulaanbaatar-Moscow is 2,889 miles: Aeroflot, personal communication. Batu reached Bulghar on the Volga in autumn, after presumably starting out from Mongolia in the spring.

⁹ Weight: H. Epstein, *Domestic Animals of China* (Farnham Royal, 1969), pp. 100–101. Load: D.W. Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 128 n. 26.

¹⁰ The effectiveness of hit-and-run mounted archery is acknowledged in the *Yuanshi*, 100/2553, cited by Paul J. Smith in *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse* (Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, 1961): "[T]he Yuan ... conquered all under Heaven with the power of the bow and the horse."

¹¹ The efficacy of these tactics is suggested by an episode cited by P.J. Smith, op. cit., pp. 14–15: seven Jurchen cavalymen routed two thousand Chinese infantry.

¹² Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Jāmi'u't-Tawārīkh: Compendium of Chronicles*, J.A. Boyle (tr.), p. 271; Thackston's translation (RaD) lacks this passage. Cf. Möngke's forces for his Song war a decade earlier: 90 *tümens*, 23 of them Mongols (cavalry) – those of the two named commanders, Möngke and Qubilai, plus 21 more under named Mongol generals; and 69 *tümens* of "Jauquts" (Chinese, Manchurians, Koreans and Tangquts).

¹³ A mixed ration of about half-and-half grain and straw.

ponies had a logistical weight about twelve times that of an infantryman (7 lbs of fodder per pony x 5 ponies = 35 lbs + 3 lbs per rider = 38 lbs per day). The Mongol cavalry and the Chinese infantry, engineers and “arrow-fodder” all required a large supply system to supported persistent positional combat. Mongol cavalry maneuvering in the (grassy) field could move from pasture to pasture as part of their campaign; siege required bringing food and all other supplies to the besiegers in their trenches. Insofar as cavalry participated in the siege, such supply demands threatened to be overwhelming, as may be seen from the difficulties of Hülegü’s army in Iran as it besieged the “Assassins” castle at Maymun Diz in 1256. Even as the attack began, some Mongol commanders were arguing for postponement: fodder could not be found, grazing was apparently inadequate, as the animals were losing weight, and preparations were having to be made to requisition flour for the troops and fodder for the animals, and to seize all animals for transportation or to eat, from all over northern Iran.¹⁴

In order to cope with new terrain, rural and urban, with a new combat role as archers on foot, and with new logistical challenges, the Mongol cavalry had to be made over. First, cavalry deployments had to be scaled down. Second, the troopers needed armor, for protection in those narrow alleyways, and when fighting dismounted against the archers and crossbowmen on Song walls and battleships. To meet the first requirement, Qubilai limited cavalry mobilizations. A Yuan record from early 1267, the year preceding his main campaign against the Song, sets the mobilization of Mongol troops for the Menggu army (the main Mongolian force in China) at one man from households with two or three adult males, 2 from 4–5, and 3 from 6–7.¹⁵ The result is shown, I believe, in a passage dated 1284 from the *Yuanshi* (Yuan annals):¹⁶

At the time of [Qubilai Qan], the official system was considerably changed ... Each [commander of 10,000, commander of 1000, and commander of 100] was categorized as either ‘upper,’ ‘middle,’ or ‘lower’.

These three grades are conventionally explained¹⁷ as meaning that the unit, nominally of 10,000 men, had to have at least 7,000 at the ‘upper’ grade, the ‘middle’ grade *tümen* required at least 5000, and the ‘lower’ *tümen*, 3000, and that these low strengths reflected actual availability of soldiers better than the theoretical number incorporated in the unit names: *tümen* (10,000); *hazāra* (1000), etc., and the further reality of smaller Mongol armies. Note, however, the many passages in Rashiduddin describing overstrength *hazāras* of several thousands, and growing populations in the Mongol empire.¹⁸ An alternative explanation¹⁹ suggests that the ‘upper’ grade, of only 7000 instead of 10,000 means that 3000 families out of 10,000, as commonly happens in nomadic communities, might lack the animal capital for decent subsistence (100 sheep and goats or equivalent) and effective military activity (five ponies); the 5000 grade would be the limit attainable by a marginal nomad group, with half its families undercapitalized (like the Basseri tribe studied by Fredrik Barth)²⁰ and the 3000 grade would be the contribution possible for sedentary pastoralists like the Liao/Manchus.

A better explanation in context of the year 1267 is adaptation of the Mongol cavalry army to siege warfare. Beginning in 1268, Qubilai’s armies besieged the Song fortress-city, Xiangyang, a siege that continued until 1273. To ameliorate his logistics, and enhance his cavalry as a tactical asset, Qubilai not only reduced his mobilization of cavalymen, as his 1267 edict shows, but resized his cavalry units, probably at

¹⁴ ‘Ala-ad-Din ‘Ata-Malik Juvaini (author), J.A. Boyle, (tr.), David O. Morgan (ed.), *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror* [hereinafter Juvaini] (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 621-2; RaD, II, 484. I use this Persian example from Iranian Mongol history because it is more circumstantial than anything I have seen from the Chinese record.

¹⁵ Ch’i-ch’ing Hsiao, *The Military Establishment of the Yuan Dynasty* (Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, 1978), p. 78. Such records, dealing with the Mongols’ own forces, seem to be rare, perhaps because such information was kept secret from the Chinese bureaucrats who compiled the records.

¹⁶ Hsiao, p. 72; see also n. 27 (on pp. 170-171); from the *Yuanshi* 98, The Military Establishment.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* n. 27 (on pp. 170-171).

¹⁸ E.g. RaD, II, pp. 282; also 279-80: the *hazāra* (nominally a Thousand) of Müge Noyan had 4000 even in Chinggis’ time, and had further “multiplied and increased” by Rashid’s day.

¹⁹ See J.M. Smith, Jr, “Mongol Nomadism and Middle Eastern geography: Qishlāqs and Tümens,” in R. Amitai-Preiss and D.O. Morgan (eds.), *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, (Leiden: Brill, 1999), p. 1 n. 2.

²⁰ F. Barth, *Nomads of South Persia: The Basseri Tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy* (Oslo UP, 1964), pp. 13, 16-17.

the same time, although the documentation is available only post-war, in the 1284 passage above. An upper-grade *tümen* was still “10,000,” or at least 7000 – and was probably not called up for the Song war. The middle-grade “*tümen*” of 5000 resulted from the mobilization of only one man out of two from a real, nominally 10,000-men, *tümen*, and the lower “*tümen*” of 3000 likewise from one out of three from a real unit. Such half-sized *tümen*s of the “middle” sort were used in Ghazan Qan’s 1299 Syrian campaign which drew 5 of every 10 men from eleven *tümen*s.²¹ The half-*tümen* will be discussed further below. The “lower” *tümen* of 3000 (= three *hazāras*) was for siege-cavalry; its smaller numbers required less supply, and were easier to outfit with armor.²²

The Mongols made armor out of leather and bits of metal.²³ Besides this home-made gear, they also collected armor from defeated enemies, ordered it from captured artisans, or purchased it. William of Rubruck, traveling in Mongol-controlled Transcaucasia in 1254 through brigand-infested country, was given a guard of:²⁴

[...] twenty men to escort us to beyond the Iron Gate. I was delighted, for I was hoping I should see their armed men, for I had never managed to have a look at their weapons although I had been most anxious to do so [...] of the twenty, there were two who had habergeons [a long coat of mail]. I asked how they had come by these; they said they had procured them from the [...]local] Alans, who are fine artificers of such things and excellent smiths. This makes me think that [the Mongols] have few arms apart from their bows and arrows and leather garments. I saw them being presented with iron plates and helmets from Persia, and I also saw two men who appeared before [Möngke Qan] armed with tunics made of curved pieces of stiff leather, which were very clumsy and cumbersome.

Most important, the Yuan manufactured arms in China: bows, arrows and armor.²⁵ Michal Biran, citing both Central Asian and Chinese sources, concludes that “extensive use of armor was one of the main qualitative advantages of the Yuan army over Qaidu’s” in western Mongolia. It gave the same advantage on other fronts.

The third requirement of the Mongol cavalry make-over was horses to carry these armored cavalymen. The Mongols had always desired horses, not just for the sake of armor, although in a warriorist society this was an important consideration. A very important reason, for a people who really lived in the saddle, was comfort. Chinggis wished to “sit [his followers] on fluid paced mounts.”²⁶ The ordinary ponies of Mongolia, the ponies that brought Mongol armies to Hungary and Korea, etc., do not meet Chinggis’ standard: they have rough gaits, the “death trot,” for instance, that subject the rider to constant jolting, or require standing in the stirrups for prolonged periods, as Mongols learned to do from childhood – as many do still.²⁷

²¹ Vassāf, *Kitāb-i Vassāf* (Tehran: Ibn Sina, 1338/1959), p. 373.

²² One such unit is mentioned in the biography of the Mongol general, Bayan, who became the commander-in-chief of the later phase of the Song war; see Francis W. Cleaves, “The Biography of Bayan of the Barin in the *Yuanshi*”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 19 (1956), pp. 185-301, see p. 219, “3,000 iron[-clad] cavalymen.”

²³ John of Plano Carpini, *History of the Mongols*, in C. Dawson (ed.), *The Mongol Mission* (rpt. New York: Harper & Row, 1966), pp. 33-34. Kitan/Liao-period (tenth-eleventh century) armor for men and horses as depicted in the *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute: the Story of Lady Wen-chi* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), [no pagination] episode 1, The Abduction of Wen-chi, illustrates horse-armor similar to that described by Plano Carpini.

²⁴ William of Rubruck. *The Journey of William of Rubruck*, in *The Mongol Mission*, *op cit.*, pp. 210-211. The “clumsy tunics” were the Mongols’ home-made armor; they also, less commonly, augmented the leather strips with iron plates; both are described in detail by Plano Carpini, *loc. cit.*

²⁵ Michal Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State in Central Asia* (Richmond, Surrey UK: Curzon, 1997), p. 87.

²⁶ As translated by Thomas Allsen in *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge UP, 1997), p. 12 from the Persian of Rashiduddin, B. Karīmī (ed.), *Jāmi’ al-tawārīkh*, 2 vols. (Tehran: Iqbal, 1959–60), I, 439: *akhtaghan rahvar*. Steingass’ dictionary gives for *rahvar* “a quick, easy, ambling-paced horse; a good roadster”, which Allsen conveys well. (Cf. RaD, II, p. 298 in which Thackston follows a later Chaghatai Turkic translation of Rashid’s work.) Given the attention by Chinggis’ staff to the recording of his remarks, the quote is probably accurate.

²⁷ See, for example, Tim Severin, *In Search of Genghis Khan* (NY: Atheneum, 1992), pp. 44-45: “[The Mongols’] system of cross-country travel was extremely straightforward....they urged their horses into a fast, pattering run and then kept up the same blistering pace with no variation whatsoever for the next two hours. Then they halted for a five-minute break.... [then] would swing back onto their horses and repeat the fast run all over again....The runty little horses gave a thoroughly uncomfortable ride. If you sat down firmly in the saddle, you were jolted and rattled....The solution was to do what the Mongol herdsman did, but that required a lifetime of training. The horse-herders either rose in the stirrups and just stood there, for 20 or 30 or 50 miles

But horses cannot easily be raised on the steppe, as they cannot subsist, as ponies can, on grazing alone. They must be fed, and fodder is hard to obtain on the generally-inarable steppe. Thus, although the Mongols, like other dynasties in China, established “horse-raising areas,” fourteen of them, “particularly in the northern steppe,”²⁸ where grazing must have produced only ponies. Larger animals – horses – required other sources.

As with armor, so also with horses the Mongols acquired some from conquered peoples and some from trade or as gifts.

[The Mongols] are now [following their conquests in Russia and Hungary,] equipped more elegantly with the plundered arms of vanquished Christians [...] They have been especially refurbished with better horses [...] Their [own small ponies], lacking fodder, are said to be content with the bark and leaves of trees and the roots of plants.²⁹

Gift horses (or ponies), are reported. Marco Polo says Qubilai received 100,000 white horses every year as New Year’s gifts.³⁰ The *Yuanshi* mentions, from what was probably a much more extensive record lost by the time of compilation, four presentations over about a one-year period, 2/10/1326 to 4/5/1327, by the Ilkhan Abu Sa’id to the Yuan emperor, consisting of, or including, “horses,” or “western horses.”³¹ The “western horses” must really have been horses, not ponies (bringing ponies to Mongolia would have been the equine equivalent of Newcastle coal-imports); probably the sort of “better horses” mentioned by King Frederick, imported from Europe to China;³² or an export version of the “fat horses” that Ghazan Khan enabled his soldiers to keep.³³

Imports, however, would not have met the Yuan need for large horses to mount the eight to ten tümens that Qubilai based within China after the war. By pony standards each tümen, nominally of ten thousand men, would have needed 50,000 ponies. Even allowing instead only three horses per soldier, each tümen would need 30,000 horses, unlikely to have been imported across Inner Asia, where sufficient fodder could not have been found en route. But imports on a smaller scale could have provided breeding stock for stud farms in China, and the Yuan had at least one selective breeding program, according to Marco Polo, with white stallions and 10,000 white mares to produce *qumis* for the imperial families at Shang-tu, Qubilai’s summer capital in Inner Mongolia.³⁴ Selective breeding was thus known and practiced, but whether for large horses is not demonstrated. The animals of the milk-farm would not have needed to be large, however, and their steppe location suggests pastoral maintenance – and fresh grass, available in late spring and early summer when Qubilai was there.³⁵

a day, apparently on legs of pure sinew and swaying with the motion of the horse. Or they sat down in their wooden saddles and relaxed, letting themselves go limp and be shaken up and down like peas on a drum.” Travelling on campaign, however, the Mongol armies proceeded at the walk, in order not to tire their mounts, covering about 16 miles a day at 4 miles per hour; Chinggis had them remove their bridles and cruppers (which help secure the saddle) to discourage speeding: see *The Secret History of the Mongols*, section 199. The modern Mongols’ practice of standing in the stirrups to dampen the rough pony-ride (for the pony as well as the rider) probably descends lineally from the time of the stirrup’s introduction, as it facilitated mounted archery; see Taybugha, J.D. Latham and W.F. Paterson (ed. and tr.), *Saracen Archery*, (London: Holland, 1970), p. 73.

²⁸ Hsiao, p. 60.

²⁹ Letter of 1241 from the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II to King Henry III of England, quoted by Douglas S. Benson, *The Mongol Campaigns in Asia [and Europe]* (Chicago: Bookmasters, 1991), pp. 372-373, from Matthew Paris, *Cronica Maiora*, IV, pp. 112-15.

³⁰ Marco Polo, R. Latham (tr.), *The Travels of Marco Polo* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958; reprint of 1980 [n.b. pagination varies among reprints]), p. 139.

³¹ Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge UP, 2001), p. 44, table 2.

³² Via Iran, or even the Golden Horde: hostilities between India and adjacent Mongols did not inhibit large-scale Indian imports of horses (doubtless ponies because of the large numbers) from the Golden Horde. See Ibn Battūta, H.A.R. Gibb (tr.), *The Travels of Ibn Battūta* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge UP, 1962), II, p. 478.

³³ RaD, III, p. 731: “When they have straw and barley ... every one will be able to tether two or three horses and keep them fatted”

³⁴ Polo, p. 109.

³⁵ Polo’s information is complemented by the vague mention in Hsiao, 60, and See S. Jagchid and C.R. Bawden, “Some Notes on the Horse-Policy of the Yüan Dynasty,” in *Central Asiatic Journal*, 10 (1965), pp. 246-68, of large pasture districts, probably the Yuan version of governmental steppe pastures for pony-raising by earlier and later dynasties in China.

The Yuan pictorial record is suggestive, but problematic. Military scenes of the sort plentifully available in art from the Ilkhanid realm, are not found, perhaps prohibited for military secrecy. Numerous paintings present very well-fed equines, which, if horses, would seem suitable heavy cavalry mounts, but whether these are ponies or horses is usually not clear, for lack of any accompanying object to give scale. Moreover, Yuan artists seem often to be inspired by, or copying, earlier, pre-Yuan works that reflect the animals of earlier dynasties.

Three examples, however, show sturdy, large-bodied horses whose size can be estimated in relation to their riders or equipment. One is the “Mounted Official” by Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫, a handscroll of 1296 in the Beijing Palace Museum.³⁶ The red-robed official sits his mount, riding “long” – with his leg only slightly flexed at the knee (not “short,” Mongol-style, with knee sharply bent to facilitate standing in the saddle, as necessary to cope with the “death trot,” or to shoot); his foot, hanging down alongside the girth, falls several inches above the low point of the belly of what must be a horse. But he is not a cavalryman.

“Khubilai Khan Hunting,” by the Yuan court painter Liu Guandao 劉貫道, a hanging scroll of 1280, show the emperor, accompanied by a consort and attendants, pausing to watch one rider shoot at birds overhead. This is a cavalryman, armed, with sword as well as bow, and, given his important function, presumably well-mounted, and riding “short,” on a plump steed. Both the plump animal and the bird-shooting nomad were Chinese artistic clichés – but, as usual with clichés, reflective of reality: note that Ghazan’s troopers wanted “fat horses,” and that shooting at overhead targets was a regular exercise in mounted archery – “qabaq.”³⁷ Note also that this court painting must be accurate in detail, as it would have to have convinced Mongol courtiers and officers who practiced mounted bird-shooting. I have attempted to measure the height of the mount, using the guardsman’s arrow to provide scale, and come up with 57 inches/14.1 “hands” from hoof to withers. This puts the animal on the borderline between pony and horse.³⁸

The third example is a Yuan-period pottery “Horse with Rider.”³⁹ Of build similar to the guardsman’s mount, it appears larger, as its rider’s feet fall higher above the belly-line, and probably depicts a small horse.

The mounts of Qubilai’s guard and the “Horse with Rider” could have been products of cross-breeding Mongolian ponies with larger stock, such as, perhaps, the “western horses” sent from Iran.⁴⁰ Such borderline pony/horses might have weighed between 900 and 1100 lbs.⁴¹ This would have enabled them to carry actively some 153–187 lbs, compared to the pony’s 600 lbs and 102-lb load.⁴² The load could have included armor for the rider – but not for the mount, if much activity were anticipated – and shock weapons as well. Note that Ghazan’s program for fat horses enabled cavalymen, but not their horses, to wear armor, judging by the illustrations in Rashiduddin’s history,⁴³ although the horses were of a different sort, verging on scrawny rather than pudgy.

The most suggestive evidence for a shift in the Menggu Army from ponies to horses appears in Qubilai’s radical transformation of the Army’s ecology, from pastoral to agricultural. This was unprecedented. The Mongols occupied other conquered territories with nomadic military units, assigning them suitable summer

³⁶ *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997), section on Yuan painting by J. Cahill, p. 148, fig. 136.

³⁷ *Saracen Archery*, pp. 73-77 Taybugha’s instructions; pp. 77-78 (editors’ comments).

³⁸ *Horse*, p. 75.

³⁹ *Imperial China: The Art of the Horse in Chinese History* (Lexington KY: Kentucky Horse Park and Prospect KY: Harmony House, 2000), p. 164, pl. 156. Modeled in the round, the appearance of this horse cannot be attributed to foreshortening, which is an explanation offered by James Cahill, op. cit., p. 147, for the “balloonlike” appearance of Zhao Mengfu’s horses (which also seems to apply to Liu’s).

⁴⁰ As done in modern times, for instance, by crossing the original small (11.2 hands/46 inch) Shetland pony with Appaloosas to produce the “Pony of the Americas” of up to 13.2 hands/54 inches: *Horse*, pp. 75-6 and 78. Owen Lattimore has said that Mongol ponies grow larger when provided with fodder: “Chingis Khan and the Mongol Conquests,” *Scientific American*, 209 (1963).

⁴¹ As do the small modern Hackney Horses that stand 14.2-15.2 hands: *Horse*, p. 83.

⁴² H. Epstein, loc. cit. Load: Engels, loc. cit.

⁴³ D. Talbot Rice and B. Gray, *The Illustrations to the ‘World History’ of Rashid al-Din* (Edinburgh UP, 1976), passim.

and winter pastures, in the Middle East, in the Golden Horde, and in south-eastern Afghanistan-Punjab. The system obtained also in North China-Inner Mongolia, and was described, I believe, by Marco Polo:

[Armies] are stationed in the open country four or five miles from the cities [...] These armies the Great Khan changes every two years, and so likewise the captains who command them [...] these armies live on the immense herds of cattle that are assigned to them and the milk which they send into the towns to sell in return for necessary provisions.⁴⁴

These units migrating biennially between garrisons with pastures in North China and home bases (*a'urugh*) in the steppe, probably account for the 'middle' "tümens" of 5000: two half-sized tümens drawn from a full-sized one. Basing these half-tümens in North China was likely a compromise, in Ögödei's time, of conflicting military and revenue interests. A certain Begder⁴⁵ proposed that North China be (may we say) "pasturized," emptied of farmers and replaced by Mongol armies with their families and pastoral animals.⁴⁶ A large Mongol force, Begder could argue, was needed to conquer the rest of China. Indeed, Möngke was to use 23 Mongol tümens in his Song war, and Qubilai 30 in his.

The "hoofprint" of a Mongol pastoral army was sizeable. One tümen, with its soldiers, their families, and their subsistence animals and cavalry mounts supported by pastoralism, would need 4,340,000 acres (6781 square miles) of grazing.⁴⁷ The carrying capacities of the Chinese provinces in which Qubilai later based units of the Menggu Army were:

Shandong 山東: with 16.5 million cultivated acres (in late pre-modern times: 1930s), could have supported 3.8 pastoral tümens (3 tümens, 8 hazāras)

Hebei 河北: 18 million; 4.1

Henan 河南: 16.2 million; 3.7

Shaanxi 陝西: 7.5 million; 1.7

Sichuan 四川: 25.6 million; 5.9

Total 19.2 pastoral tümens⁴⁸

Begder's plan would have created pastures that could have supported much of the force eventually needed.

The proposal was countered by the argument of Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材, Ögödei's Chinese counselor, that agriculture produced greater revenues. He could also have pointed to the importance of protecting the Chinese population not only for the sake of revenues, but for the infantry, artillerymen and engineers that the Mongols had learned were essential for success, and for reduction of Mongol casualties, in high-attrition siege warfare. Yelü Chucai won the argument, and became Ögödei's tax-collector for North China.

When the Begder-Yelü Chucai debate took place, the needs of Mongol garrisons did not require such drastic measures. North China had been devastated by the conquest, and the *Tammachi* Army, the Mongol units led by Muqali, that had been largely responsible for the conquest, probably seemed an adequate

⁴⁴ Marco Polo, *The Travels*, p. 115.

⁴⁵ Not Chinggis' half-brother, whom Chinggis murdered. Not mentioned by Juvaini or RaD.

⁴⁶ Igor de Rachewiltz, "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai", in A.F. Wright and D. Twitchett (eds.), *Confucian Personalities* (Stanford UP, 1962), p. 201: "complete annihilation of the native population, and [...turning] the entire occupied territory [of North China] into pasture land."

⁴⁷ I.V. Larin, *Pasture Economy and Meadow Cultivation* (Jerusalem, 1962), pp. 470, 539, used an average figure of 534 lbs/acre of hay in evaluating pasture productivity in the Soviet Union. Brome hay, a typical steppe product, has 0.85 Mcal (Mcal = one thousand kilocalories per pound; hay from one acre of brome grass yields 454 Mcal annually. Cf. I.Kh. Ovdienko, *Economic-Geographical Sketch of the Mongolian People's Republic* (Bloomington IN: Mongolian Society Occasional Papers, no. 3, 1965), p. 59. Sheep need 4.16 Mcal/day; 100 sheep (the basic flock for a family's subsistence) need 151,840 Mcal/year, requiring 334 acres of pasture. 100 more acres are needed to graze 8 ponies (5 geldings, a soldier's proper complement, and 3 mares for breeding and *qumis*). Ponies of 600 lbs/ 273 kg at "medium work" need 15.52 Mcal/day; 8 ponies each need 5665 Mcal/yr, an annual total of 45,336 Mcal: see Smith, Jr, "'Ayn Jälüt," p. 336 and n. 90.

⁴⁸ Kang Chao, *Agricultural Production in Communist China, 1949-1965* (Madison WI: Wisconsin UP, 1970), p. 194, table 8.2 (Buck's data from 1929-33); one acre equals 6.07 mou (p. 2).

garrison. The *Tammachi* Army may only have consisted of five tümens, the “Five Touxia 投下/Aymaqs,”⁴⁹ with only half of these five in garrisons, if the garrison forces rotated every other year. The matter of Song China could be deferred to the future, since Ögödei had other plans.

The problem must have reemerged in Qubilai’s time, following his Song conquest. His large Mongol army had to be positioned to keep, and reinforce, his even larger Chinese armies in garrison in South China. Accordingly, the Mongols were based especially in the provinces of Shaanxi, Henan, and Shandong below the Yellow River,⁵⁰ but above (north of) the Chinese garrisons in the former Song territories further south. Four Mongol tümens (rising to six) were based in Shandong and Hebei; four more in Henan and Huaibei 淮北; plus at least one more each in Shaanxi, Chengdu 成都, and Manchuria; another smaller unit was based in Manchuria.⁵¹ Since, as we have seen above, these Mongol units with their ponies or horses, if also joined by their families, sheep, goats, cows, etc., would have so filled up the land as to require Begder’s “pasturization” after all, and on a much larger scale, given some three generations of Chinese population growth, and at consequently much greater cost in revenue, Qubilai decided to “depasturize” the Mongols instead. The best evidence is a government order of 1295 (post-Qubilai) that gives the dimensions of land-grants in Shandong to Mongols returning from the war: five *ch’ing* (75 acres) for a regular soldier and two *ch’ing* for each additional adult male in his family.⁵² Seventy-five acres of pasture would not support a Mongol family with 100 sheep, or equivalents, and eight ponies, which would need over 400 acres for adequate grazing. Other suggestive passages have Mongol soldiers assigned land for farming in Henan and Hebei in 1265, and a 1289 document mentioning cultivation in Shandong by Mongols before they were sent to the Song war;⁵³ both of these show Mongol military farming before, and apparently in preparation for, the war.

Seventy-five acres would not support the Mongol family, their mounts, and their subsistence animals. The 100 sheep or equivalents needed some 334 acres of pasture, and had to be given up – along with nomadism.⁵⁴

Without subsistence animals, the Mongol family had to farm some acres for food, and the rest for fodder: grazing on those acres would not support enough mounts. In the regions south of the Yellow River (Shandong, Henan, Shaanxi and Sichuan) where Mongol units were based, the (late pre-modern) yields of wheat averaged ca. 868 lbs/acre/year each of grain and straw.⁵⁵ Wheat grain has 1.76 Mcal/lb (Mcal = one thousand kilocalories, the kind we count when dieting); wheat straw, 0.66 Mcal/lb. The Mongol soldier and his family (considering them a “reference family” of the composition and requirements used by Dahl and Hjört)⁵⁶ needed altogether about 5000 Mcal/year, such as could be derived from 2841 lbs of wheat grain, grown on 3.35 acres. After subtracting these 3.35 agricultural acres, the other 71.65 acres, as pasture would have provided only 38,261 lbs of brome hay and 32,522 Mcal a year, grazing for only the barest complement even of ponies. Ponies of 600 lbs/ 273 kg at “medium work” need 15.52 Mcal/day; 5665 Mcal/year. At 534 lbs of brome hay per acre and 0.85 Mcal per pound; hay from one acre of brome grass yields 454 Mcal annually; 75 acres produces 34,050 Mcal. 5 ponies, a soldier’s proper campaigning string, require 28,325 Mcal, and just one more pony would have consumed the allotment’s output, and would not have constituted a viable pony-raising operation. Moreover, in one recorded district, an average of 12 families of Chinese

⁴⁹ RaD, I, pp. 227-28; Hsiao, p. 16.

⁵⁰ The region in which Qubilai’s agrarian tümens were based have been described as “semi-steppe” in Hsiao, 54. Arable steppe might be a term more suggestive of its dual-use potential. However, the vegetation map in H. Fullard (ed.), *China in Maps* (London: George Philip, 1968), p. 12, shows the natural vegetation as broad-leaved forest in Shandong and along the Yellow River, and sub-tropical forest in lower Henan and Huaibei.

⁵¹ Hsiao, p. 55.

⁵² Hsiao, p. 21.

⁵³ Hsiao, loc. cit., and note 173 to p. 21 on p. 140.

⁵⁴ *Tammachi* units, however, managed to keep the nomadic system, as observed by Marco Polo, who was there from ca. 1275 until 1292.

⁵⁵ This figure is an averaged derived from data on wheat production in the 1920s and ‘30s in five Chinese locations in Kang Chao, op. cit., p. 125, table 5.3 and p. 214, table 8.9; one catty equals 1.1 lbs (p. 2).

⁵⁶ Gudrun Dahl, *Having Herds: Pastoral Herd Growth and Household Economy* (Stockholm, 1976), pp. 140-141.

slaves worked on Mongol soldiers' grants. Assuming that each of these families also needed some 5000 Mcal a year, another 40-odd acres would have been diverted from pasture to food-production, leaving only about 35 acres of grazing, producing 15,890 Mcal or annual support for only two or three ponies. Pastoralism, on these terms, could not maintain the Army.

But reducing the Menggu Army hoofprint was not the main purpose of "depasturization." Requiring the Army to cultivate its grants made it possible for it to raise horses – at the cost of the traditional subsistence animals and, for the families, loss of experience in the management and movement of animals, the fundamental skills of nomadism. On the 75 acres of a primary grant, the annual yield at 868 lbs/acre, would be about 65,000 lbs each of grain and straw, with the caloric value of the grain 114,400 Mcal; and of the straw 42,900 Mcal. About 65,000 Mcal of the grain-calories would have fed the Mongol and Chinese families; the remaining 49,400 Mcal from grain and the 42,900 straw-calories, total 92,300 Mcal were available to feed animals: the soldiers could raise horses. They could support 16 ponies, or 8 (900–1100-lb⁵⁷) horses – horses that could actively carry armored troopers, *and* that were comfortable (certainly by comparison with ponies) to ride. Qubilai had fulfilled Chinggis' promise to his followers, while completing the development of heavy cavalry.

A similar, smaller effort was made on the limited arable lands of Mongolia, where military-agricultural colonies were established, augmented by grain-supply routes, to provision fortified garrisons on Mongolia's frontiers.⁵⁸ Fodder grown in the colonies, and imported grain fed horses for armored cavalry. Although fortifications and heavy cavalry could play only a defensive role in border warfare, since the cavalry could only operate away from base with a large, slow supply train, they provided a backup line from which light cavalry could sally forth, or behind which it could take shelter, replicating on a strategic scale traditional Mongol tactics: "[W]hen [the Mongols] come in sight of the enemy they attack at once, each one shooting three or four arrows at their adversaries; if they see that they are not going to be able to defeat them, they retire, going back to their own line."⁵⁹ And: "Whoever wishes to fight against the Tartars ought to have the following arms [...] cuirasses of a double thickness [...] a helmet and armour and other things to protect [...] from their weapons and arrows. If there are any men not as well armed as we have described, they ought to do as the Tartars and go behind the others and shoot at the enemy with their bows."⁶⁰ Yuan offensive successes in these border wars were achieved by ordinary Mongol light cavalry employing what Michal Biran calls "nomadic tactics."⁶¹ Walls, armor and horses were a help, but ponies were indispensable in Inner Asia.

The downside of exchanging nomadism for agriculture and horses was the loss by the Menggu Army of its logistical virtue. Agriculture meant that the army could feed horses – but horses meant that it had to keep feeding them. This could be done routinely on the soldiers' 75 acres, but on the road it was another matter. A 'lower' "tümen" with 3000 soldiers and 6000 horses required 90 tons of provisions a day (3 lbs per man; 56 lbs for two 1100-lb horses). Transporting 90 tons required 180 carts each carrying 1000 lbs, 180 oxen to draw the carts, and (at least) 180 carters to manage them; additional provisions for this supply train would add another 2.5 tons, carried by 5 more carts...etc, etc. If only 1/3 of the horse-rations (28.5 tons) were grain, combined with the 4.5 tons for the troops, the total of 33 tons of grain would be equivalent to a day's consumption of a city of 22,000 people; this amount had to be provided, and procured, every day of a journey or campaign. The pace of draft oxen is 2 mph for 5 hours a day, slower than the pace attainable by foot-soldiers.⁶² There could be no more running of circles about enemy armies such as Samuqa had so nimbly performed in 1216–17 over a 50-day campaign with 40,000 men.⁶³ An equivalent fourteenth century

⁵⁷ Horses (1100 lbs/ 500 kg) at "medium work" need 28.69 Mcal/day, 10,472, Mcal/year: see *Horse*, p. 286.

⁵⁸ Biran, p. 90.

⁵⁹ Plano Carpini, p. 36.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁶¹ Biran, pp. 90-91.

⁶² D.W. Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 15.

⁶³ Martin, pp. 185-91.

Menggu force would have needed a supply train about 14 times the size of the one hypothesized above: 1260 tons of provisions every day – for 50 days – , the daily load on 2520 carts moving 10 miles a day, instead of 16 – and so on.

This problem did not arise for many years. The reconfigured and ecologically-revolutionized Yuan armies held China, defended Mongolia, and even gained control of the lands of the former Ulus Ögödei⁶⁴ But as the fourteenth century wore on, mostly peacefully, both the rulers and their soldiers came to lack military experience, and bureaucratic checks on possible military adventures proliferated. The Mongol cavalry retained its original, simple command system, with Mongol officers at every level. But commanders of Menggu tümens had not only to take care of their unit's needs in its home base, but deal with several administrative bureaucracies in case field operations were necessary: with civilian authorities for provision of supplies and transport, and with Chinese garrison commanders for supporting infantry from the surrounding region. The Chinese units, mostly infantry, had a much more complex system, with Mongol or other Inner Asian (*semu* 色目) officers at the top, and Chinese at lower ranks, complicating the exercise of authority: "the military and civil authorities were separated; they did not help one another."⁶⁵ Like the Menggu Army (until the Yuan abolished them, probably because the Army was already at home on its 75-acre grants had no need of a "home base"/*a'urugh* administration), the Chinese units had *a'urughs*, but with a difference: *a'urugh* administration fell under civilian authority, not military as in the case of Mongol units.⁶⁶ The reason was probably to inhibit rebellion, since the *a'urughs*, among other things managed supplies for the units, which, in the agriculture-based military system, meant that tactically-essential rations and fodder could only be obtained by the commanders with the cooperation of the civilians. These cumbersome arrangements would make trouble because of the dependence of most of the Yuan army, its Menggu cavalry and its the Chinese infantry, on agriculture.

Trouble arose when local rebellions began to plague South China. These could be overcome when the various essential elements of the Yuan administration and military worked together, but such working was problematic. The inauspicious start of the Yuan campaigns of 1351–56 against the "Red Turbans" and other rebel groups was mostly attributable to military inexperience, from the emperor on down, because of the long years of peace in China. A force of Chinese infantry, and cavalry, not of the Menggu Army, but of the Imperial Guard, Asod (Sarmatians/Alans/Ossetes from the Caucasus) who were surely as well armed and mounted as any in Yuan China, was sent against the rebels and failed, allegedly from indiscipline, sickness and inexperience operating in irrigated farmland. A "fanatical mob" of Red Turbans overwhelmed them. Another, larger army ("10,000 nomad tribesmen and Chinese"⁶⁷) lost its commander to a night raid by Red Turbans, and a still-larger force, supposedly 100,000 mostly elite guards, likewise panicked during a night raid and fled headlong, losing their arms and supplies.⁶⁸

Eventually, by dint of extraordinary logistical efforts, complex administrative manipulations, and, finally, competent leadership, most of the rebellions were suppressed. But as the last important rebel band was besieged and on the verge of destruction, the competent leader was fired, and large army he had pulled together broke up in disillusion. It proved impossible thereafter for Yuan generals to repeat his impressive and effective performance, and so military arrangements and capacities became smaller in scale and more local than imperial. As the ineptitude of the Yuan became apparent to the Chinese units of the Yuan army in the South China, they, and private militias formed to protect local communities there from the rebels, began to make deals with the rebels and often to join them. The rebel armies, growing larger, began to move north; the Yuan government panicked and began to withdraw from China, taking with them some Guards and a few tümens of the *Tammachi* Army. The thirteen-odd tümens of the sedentary Menggu Army remained behind – because they could not leave. They were (one might say) saddled with their fodder-dependent horses.

⁶⁴ Liu Yingsheng, "War and Peace between the Yuan Dynasty and the Chaghadaid Khanate (1312–1323)," in Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (eds.), *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p. 341.

⁶⁵ Hsiao, p. 61.

⁶⁶ Hsiao, p. 14.

⁶⁷ John W. Dardess, *Conquerors and Confucians* (New York: Columbia UP, 1973), p. 106.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

Feeding the horses, never mind the men, when journeying required those prodigious quantities of fodder and large supply trains, which they had neither the time nor the ability to raise, and which, even had they been able to organize them, would not have been able to outmarch the pursuing rebels.⁶⁹ They needed ponies, but no longer had them.

Only the Five Aymaqs that had provided *tammachi* garrisons in China since Chinggis' time, managed to retreat. They had maintained, even under Qubilai and his successors, their "Marco Polo Plan" pastoral acreage and economy, their ponies and other domestic animals it required, and their migratory capability. They retained, despite efforts of the government to abolish them, their *a'urughs* (home bases and administration) which managed their *tammachi* garrisons in China, their camps and pastures in Inner Mongolia, and their travels between them as they traded places – half a *tümen* moving into China, the other half moving out, every other year. These are the 5,000-man 'middle' "tümens," of the 1284 Yuan document on *tümen* strengths.⁷⁰ The Yuan had decreed abolition of the *a'urughs* successfully with the Menggu forces, but mistakenly, since it outsourced logistics to the civilian Chinese bureaucracy; the *Tammachis*, however, by ignoring and evading these orders (their disobedience probably overlooked because they had been founded by Chinggis), had preserved their capacity eventually to retreat to their Mongolian home-bases. The Mongols in the Menggu Army had a long, smooth ride, but in the end it went nowhere.

⁶⁹ Withdrawal of the Menggu Army from south of the Yellow River into Inner Mongolia would have meant a long journey. The relatively direct route from Hebei via Kaifeng 開封, Khanbaligh (the Yuan capital) to Shangdu 上都 ("Xanadu"), Qubilai's favorite summer residence on the edge of Inner Mongolia) is some 570 miles by measurement from the maps in Albert Herrmann, *An Historical Atlas of China* (Chicago: Aldine, 1966) and in *China in Maps* (London: George Philip, 1968). Marco Polo says the journey from Khanbaligh to Shangdu took ten days; Herrmann's map seems to show 275 miles; *China in Maps*, 130 miles. *China's* figure fits better with Marco's ten days, as it would approximate the 15 mpd traveling pace of a pony-mounted force. At 15 mpd, a 570 mile journey would take 38 days. But the Menggu Army was not pony-mounted. Their journey would take about two months at 10 mpd (ox-pace). Supplies for a "tümen" of 3000 (as above) on such a journey would amount to 5130 tons. If carried for the whole distance, this would take around 10,000 carts, etc. If supplies were pre-positioned for collection along the route, as Möngke arranged for Hülegü's army on its way to the Middle East, the supply train could be smaller. In either case, arrangements for the supplies would have to have been made well in advance of the movement: Möngke had ordered Hülegü's supplies in 1253; they were ready for him in 1255, when he arrived in Central Asia.

⁷⁰ Hsiao, p. 171.

Some Remarks on Horses on the Ancient Silk Roads Depicted on Monuments of Art between Gandhara and the Tarim Basin (3rd–8th century)

Ulf JÄGER¹

Within the last few years it has become obvious to the author through his own studies, that the question of a certain “reality” in the depictions of horses in the arts between Gandhara and the Tarim Basin (Xinjiang), c. 3rd century and 8th century AD, has never really been explored.² The author would like to air the subject: Did the horses depicted really exist and of what breed were they? Have there ever been such horses? Or are they all pure fictional horses? In this very special case the author’s intention is not to look at the equipment used in horse riding etc., but only for the zoological, i.e. biological, data and its depiction. Furthermore, is there a relationship between the depiction of horses and the actual horse breeding in life in ancient times along the Silk Roads between Gandhara and the Tarim Basin? Do the pictures of horses really reflect the various qualities of such ancient horses?

Such questions are not easy to answer and should be made a matter of discussion. In fact they occurred to the author many years ago when he read two important articles; one by A. von Gabain,³ the other by W. Eberhard.⁴ In her study A. von Gabain saw a certain conformity in style between images of horses in the art of the Buddhist cave-temples of Bamiyan (Afghanistan) and those on the Buddhist murals of the Tocharian state of Kucha on the northern route of the Silk Roads in the Tarim Basin. In both places horses were drawn with excessively fine legs, narrow bodies and heavily curved necks between the late 5th and early 7th centuries AD. A. von Gabain saw similarities with depictions of horses in early Tang paintings at Dunhuang (Gansu, PR China); and what she tried to introduce to the scholarly mind was whether or not the Kushans of Bamiyan were ethnic relatives of the Tocharians of Kucha. Not only did she try to prove this by horse-depictions but also by highlighting other cultural and linguistic similarities.

In contrast W. Eberhard proved the Chinese historical sources for many aspects of the cultural life of peoples along the Silk Roads. Among the information gathered from the Chinese sources is some which also included the role of the horse in these societies. Some other questions, but from a different aspect, i.e. arms and armour, which come to mind I have tried to work on in my archaeological dissertation.⁵

But other examples of horse depictions should be added when considering the economic quality of horses in the area and the span quoted above. Among the questions asked here are:

Was there a certain reality behind these depictions and which kind of importance did it have for the people? Can we be sure that certain ‘types’ of horses depicted in one location and in one time, but which are also depicted in the same time span but in another location show connections between peoples who bred them along the Silk Roads?

¹ Gronau-Epe / Westfalen.

² Ulf Jäger, *Reiter, Reiterkrieger und Reiternomaden zwischen Rheinland und Korea: Zur spätantiken Reitkultur zwischen Ost und West*, 4.-8. Jh. n. Chr. Ein Beitrag zur Synthese von Alter Geschichte und Archäologie, Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas 45, (Langenweissbach, 2006).

³ Annemarie von Gabain, “Von Kuca (Kusan) nach Bamiyan, eine kulturhistorische Studie”, *Eucharisterion: Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his 60th birthday by colleagues and students*, Harvard Ukrainian Studies 3-4 (1979–1980), pp. 258-270.

⁴ Wolfram Eberhard, “Die Kultur der alten zentral- und westasiatischen Völker nach chinesischen Quellen”; *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 73 (1941), pp. 215-275.

⁵ Jäger, *Reiter, Reiterkrieger und Reiternomaden zwischen Rheinland und Korea*.

Before some examples of art monuments can be discussed, it is important to state that such observations can only be made from material where horses are depicted in a most realistic way. Examples of art where the horses are too stylized cannot and will not concern us here. The period under discussion is Hellenism after Alexander the Great, which introduced great naturalism into the arts in Central Asia.

First of all we must ask the following question: Which kind of horses could perhaps be found in that part of Central Asia between the 2nd/3rd century AD and the 8th century AD? Before doing so, we have to look back a little deeper into prehistory: Until now we have accepted that in ancient times, and right up to the Middle Ages, large numbers of the 'Ur-Pferd',⁶ the ancestor of all known kinds of horses, the Przewalski horse, existed throughout the steppes of Eurasia (pl. 15).⁷ This wild horse of Asia, first discovered by the Russian explorer Mikhail Przevalskij in 1879 in Mongolia, has a large, long and ram-nosed head. Its short neck sits on steep shoulders; the mane stands upright. The body is compact and the withers are flat like the back. The back moves to the cruppers in a certain kind of cut-off. The short but robust legs end in relatively small but extremely hard hooves. The height of the Przewalski horse is ca. 1.30m. One can find a horse of these special qualities depicted very early in the 4th c. BC on a golden Scythian vase from Chertomlyk on the river Dnepr; the vase found its way to the Hermitage Collection in St. Petersburg. (pl. 16). The horses shown on the Chertomlyk vase are depicted in the very realistic Greek-Hellenistic style of the 4th c. BC. It should be mentioned that we can be sure that the Chertomlyk vase horses are of the Przewalski type because the Hellenistic artist styled them after their natural prototype. So there can be no doubt that the depiction on the Chertomlyk vase is the Przewalski horse.

Looking at the horses of Mongolia today, which are still ridden by Mongolian herdsmen, one realizes that these horses are not the same as the wild Przewalski horse. Other breeds of horses, maybe those of older Turkish origin, have changed the Mongolian horse.⁸ Very early in prehistory man had started to interbreed different kinds of horses for his own use – the biological bases was brought forward and first studied intensively by Charles Robert Darwin.⁹ Mankind had already been breeding horses for at least four millennia by the 2nd/3rd c. AD.¹⁰

The question to be answered in our context is what were the real needs for special horses along the Silk Roads and what were their special purposes? Without going into detail, one can detect two larger groups among horse-riders on the ancient Silk Roads between the 2nd/3rd c. and the 8th c. AD:

- a) Nomadic people
- b) Sedentary people

Nomads need their horses for mobility while herding their large flocks of sheep, goats, camels and horses. They have to go with them and change their flocks' pastures sometimes more than twice a year. Their transportable felt tents, yurts, were carried by Bactrian camels (*camelus bactrianus*). Nomads also need horses for hunting and for war. Being on horseback while in war they also try to enlarge their own herds of horses by conquering those of other tribes; large herds are a symbol of their wealth.

Among the group of people living in sedentary cultures there are more reasons for horse-riding. Among them are traders who need their horses for shorter or longer trade-travelling; there are wandering craftsmen and artists; hunters; diplomats on tour through the area they control or have to control and warriors on horseback. Besides that we find religious pilgrims on pious travels to sanctuaries and holy places. In our

⁶ Franz Hancar, "Das Pferd in prähistorischer und früher historischer Zeit", *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 11 (1956).

⁷ Sandor Bökönyi, *The Przevalsky Horse* (London, 1974).

⁸ Veronika Veit, "Das Pferd – Freund und Gefährte der Mongolen", in Walter Heissig und Claudius C. Müller (Eds.), *Die Mongolen: Ausstellungskatalog München und Hildesheim 1989* (Innsbruck, 1989).

⁹ Charles Robert Darwin, *The origin of species by means of natural selection or the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life* (London, 1859).

¹⁰ David W. Anthony, *The social and economic implication of the horse*, 2 parts (London, 1985, 1986); David W. Anthony, "The 'Kurgan-Culture': Indo-European origins and the domestication of the horse, a reconsideration", *Current Anthropology* 27 (1986), pp. 291-313; David W. Anthony, D.Y. Telegin and D.R. Brown, "Die Anfänge des Reitens", *Spektrum der Wissenschaft* 2 (1992), pp. 88-94; Marsha Levine, Colin Renfrew and Katie Boyle (eds.), *Prehistoric steppe adaptation and the horse* (Oxford, 2003).

context we will consider both groups of horse-riders. Both groups need different horses, but have one compulsory factor in common: they need horses of great endurance which are able to cope with thirst, hunger and the harsh climatic changes, yet also carry their owner and his heavy baggage. The question now is: Are there depictions of such horses in the arts between Bactria/Gandhara and the Tarim Basin which give us some indication of their use and qualities? But there is one more problem: bones of horses discovered from the area and the period of time in view of this article are not regularly examined by zoologists. Regarding material found during archaeological excavations, examinations like that have started only a few years ago in Germany and Western Europe; they are of great importance for our geographical sphere.¹¹

To start with the narrative Buddhist art of Gandhara, where we only find a limited number of horses depicted because of the stories told to the pious believer of antiquity, one finds a marvellous relief of 'Buddha riding out from his palace to visit the city' on his horse Kanthaka,¹² now stored in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (No.O.4-1917) England. The relief is attributed to the 2nd/3rd century AD.¹³ D. Ahrens, working on Gandhara art, dates it AD 435.¹⁴ Whatever might be the right date for this Gandhara relief, we see the later Buddha, Prince Siddhartha, on Kanthaka in a frontal pose. With his strong legs, wide breast and the relatively small head, he gives us the impression of being of the robust type of horses ridden in Gandhara by the Kushans. It is obvious the horse could be of that small and robust sort which came to the area of Gandhara between modern Pakistan and Afghanistan, from where maybe the ancient relatives of the Kushans originally came, i.e. north-western China. Maybe these horses were still very close to the Przewalski-type.

Back to the early time of the 1st/2nd century AD, the late pre-Kushan time,¹⁵ we see the wonderful golden clasp from Saksanokhur in Tajikistan with its nomadic rider, out boar-hunting with a lance (pl. 17).¹⁶ Only looking for the horse type, we find the upstanding mane, the strong legs and hooves, as well as the ram- or turnip-headed form of its head. This again brings us close to a breed still physically very near to the Przewalski horse of Central Asia. The observation that the Przewalski horse must have played a major role until the 1st to the 3rd/4th c. AD can also be seen at the so-called Yotkan ceramics, i.e. the little terracotta horse of this manufacture. Yotkan are the fine ceramics of Khotan on the south-western corner of the Silk Road in the Tarim Basin.¹⁷ All small terracotta from Khotan, i.e. the Yotkan horses, show the upstanding

¹¹ Manfred Rech (ed.), "Pferdeopfer, Reiterkrieger: Fahren und Reiten durch die Jahrtausende, Begleitpublikation zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Focke-Museum/Bremer Landesmuseum vom 5. 12. 2006 bis 25. 3. 2007)", *Bremer Archäologische Blätter, Beiheft 4* (Bremen, 2006).

¹² Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, "Das Pferd Kanthaka: Symbol buddhistischer Erzähl- und Kunstelemente im zentralasiatischen Manichäismus"; Jürgen Ozols and Volker Thewalt (eds.), *Aus dem Osten des Alexanderreiches: Völker und Kulturen zwischen Orient und Okzident Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Indien, Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Klaus Fischer* (Köln, 1984), pp. 91-97; Klaus Fischer, "Zu erzählenden Gandhara-Reliefs: Mit einem Exkurs über den Hengst Kanthaka"; *Beiträge für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Archäologie des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 2 (1980), Exkurs = pp. 277-294.

¹³ H. Ingholt and I. Lyons, *Gandhara Art from Pakistan* (New York, 1957), figs. 71, 196 and 200; A comparable Gandhara relief: Katsumi Tanabe, "Neither Mara nor Indra but Vaishravana on Scenes of the Great Departure of Prince Siddhartha: The Origins of the Tobatsubishamonten Image", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 3 (1993-1994), pp. 157-185, see p. 183, figs. 8 and 9.

¹⁴ Dieter Ahrens, "Die Chronologie der Gandharakunst", *Pantheon* 19 (1961), pp. 114-118, see p. 118, fig. 7; Generally: Dieter Ahrens, "Die römischen Grundlagen der Gandharakunst", *Orbis Antiquus* 20 (1961).

¹⁵ Robert Göbl, "Münzprägung des Kusanreiches". Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Veröffentlichung der Numismatischen Kommission, Sonderband, (Wien, 1984); Robert Göbl, "Donum Burns. Die Kusanmünzen im Münzkabinett Bern und die Chronologie", (Wien, 1993); Robert Göbl, "The Rabatak Inscription and the date of Kanishka", in Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds.), *Coins, Art, and Chronology: Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften 280, Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens Nr. 31, Veröffentlichungen der Numismatischen Kommission Band 33, (Wien, 1999), pp. 151-175.

¹⁶ Judith Rickenbach, *Oxus. 2000 Jahre Kunst am Oxus-Fluss in Mittelasien: Neue Funde aus der Sowjetrepublik Tadschikistan, Eine Ausstellung in Zusammenarbeit mit der Akademie der Wissenschaften von Tadschikistan/UdSSR und der Ermitage in Leningrad* (Zürich, 1989), pp. 52-53, no. 25, fig. 25.

¹⁷ Gerd Gropp, *Archäologische Funde aus Khotan, Chinesisch-Ostturkestan: Die Trinkler-Sammlung im Übersee-Museum Bremen, Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Deutschen Zentralasien-Expedition 1927/28, Teil 3*, Monographien der Wittheit zu Bremen 11 (Bremen, 1974), pp. 304 and 328-330: f. 2. 80.-83.

mane and the rams-head of the Przewalski horses, here shown in six examples from the Petrovsky collection in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia (pl. 18).¹⁸ Slightly different, but still with the upstanding mane, we find two depictions of horses (and their riders) on two wooden panels from Dandan-Oilik oasis in Khotan (panel D. X. 5 and panel D. VII. 5),¹⁹ both are now at the British Museum, London. They belong to a time between the 5th/6th century AD (pl. 19). The very difference we can recognize for the first time is that both depicted horses are piebalds. Such a skin colour the Przewalski horses never have – they are always of a yellowish skin colour! This may be an influence of early Turkish breeding,²⁰ which might have changed the Khotan horses at the latest in the 4th to 6th centuries AD by horse imports. Such changes in colour only happen when horse breeders again and again select animals out for breeding new skin colours. At Khotan we have to reckon with the fact that the Hephtalites were responsible for these new horse breeds.²¹ Here we will not go into whether or not the Hephtalites were of Turkish or Iranian origin.²² Before we continue to see if and when horse breeds in pre-Islamic Central Asia changed, one should add that there was also another wild horse living on the steppes from Eastern Europe to Central Asia called Tarpan (*equus ferus gmelini*). This wild horse had died out by the beginning of the 19th century.

It has been a question among zoologists until today, if the Tarpan was a completely separate wild horse or if it was only a variant type of the Przewalski horse. The skin colour of its body was mouse-dun or darkish grey; the legs as well as the face were darker grey. Whereas the Przewalski horse was unwilling to be mounted, the Tarpan was more accommodating. This could be an indication that the Tarpan, looking so close to the Przewalski horse, is an early breed of the Przewalski horse! All Tarpans living in modern zoos today are descendants of those Tarpans which were completely re-bred in the early 1930s in the zoo Hellabrunn (Munich). It is difficult to decide whether we should speak of two wild horses on the Eurasian steppes or of one original stock; i.e. the Przewalski horse. It was M. Hermanns who tried to distinguish certain types of wild horses to explain the types of horses bred in Tibet, but from the point of view held today in modern scholarship one at least has to be careful about his results.²³ When looking for the horses of the Huns who had arrived in Eastern Europe by 375 AD, we see that their horses must have been very close to the Przewalski horse again, as O. Maenchen-Helfen analysed from late Roman sources.²⁴ In fact the German sculptor Erich Hösel (1869–1953) made his ‘Hun bending down from his horse’ in bronze of 1900 (pl. 20) following these late Roman sources.

The osteological material of the Hunic horses has been so badly examined that it did not even play any role in the great and admirable study on the Hunic material by Bodo Anke a few years ago.²⁵

While continuing the history of horse-breeding in Central Asia during the period in question, we have to remember also the so-called ‘blood-sweating horses’ of Ferghana in eastern Sogdiana, which brought the

¹⁸ Natalya W. Dyakonova and S. S. Sorokin, *Chotanskije Drevnosti: Katalog Terakota I Shtuk* (Leningrad, 1960), pl. 34, nos. 1466, 1467, 1469, 1489, 1488 and 1468.

¹⁹ Marc Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1907), vol. 2, pl. LXII and pl. LIX. Markus Mode, “Sogdian Gods in Exile—Some iconographic evidence from Khotan in the light of recently excavated material from Sogdiana”, *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 2 (1991–1992), pp. 179–214, p. 211, a and c.

²⁰ Emel Esin, “The Horse in Turkic Art”, *Central Asiatic Journal* 10.3–4 (1965), pp. 167–227, see pp. 201–218: “The Horse Species in Turkic Art”.

²¹ Gerd Gropp, *Archäologische Funde aus Khotan, Chinesisch-Ostturkestan*, pp. 34–35.

²² Albert Hermann, “Die Hephtaliten und ihre Beziehungen zu China”, *Asia Major* 2 (1925), pp. 564–580; Roman Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, *Memoires de la Delegation Archeologique Francaise en Afghanistan* 13 (Cairo, 1948); Robert Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1969); D. W. Mac Dowall and Maurizio Taddei, “The Hephtalites”, in F.R. Allchin, N. Hammond, *The Archaeology of Afghanistan from earliest times to the Timurids* (London, New York, San Francisco, 1978), p. 234; Jangar Ya. Il’yasov, “The Hephtalite Terracotta”, *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7 (2001), pp. 187–200, see p. 187.

²³ Matthias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet. Die sozial-wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der Hirtenkulturen in A Mdo und von Innerasien, Ursprung und Entwicklung der Viehzucht* (Wien, 1949), pp. 161–169.

²⁴ Otto J. Maenchen-Helfen, *Die Welt der Hunnen: Eine Analyse ihrer historischen Dimension* (Wien, Köln, Graz, 1978), pp. 156–159.

²⁵ Bodo Anke, *Studien zur reiternomadischen Kultur des 4. bis 5. Jahrhunderts*, *Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichtliche Mitteleuropas* 8, 2 vols. (Langenweissbach 1998).

Han-emperor Wu Di 武帝 (140–87 BC) to the very point of sending out his envoy Zhang Qian 張騫 in 138 BC to forge an alliance against the Xiongnu 匈奴 with the Yuezhi 月氏, a tour which took him 12 years and a journey of more than 3000 kilometres up to modern Afghanistan.²⁶ These horses were called ‘blood-sweating’ because, as we know today, a parasite (*parafilaria multipupillosa*) infests the horse during its lifetime. A small amount of the horse’s blood mixes with the sweat to form a foam of pinkish colour. In all likelihood the well known bronze-horse of Wuwei 武威 in the province of Gansu, PR China²⁷ (pl. 21) of the eastern Han Dynasty; 2nd c. AD, meant exactly such a ‘blood sweating’ horse of the Yuezhi nomads who had conquered Bactria. If one looks for the race of this horse of Wuwei, which found such an extraordinary interest in China and abroad, one has to establish that horse-breeding always was of paramount importance for the Chinese so that they were able to defend themselves against nomadic invaders from the north. But, as a matter of fact, the Chinese never really became familiar with horses. They always used foreign, mainly nomadic grooms to breed horses, as we can see when taking a closer look at for example the famous Tang horses, which are often shown together with their non-Chinese grooms.²⁸ Regarding their own horse-breeding, the Chinese horses were again not too far away from the Przewalski type.

In contrast to all horses mentioned up to now and for the question of how horses were later on bred in Central Asia before Islam, we have to look to the western part of this vast geographical area. After Alexander the Great had conquered the Persian Achaemenian Empire (334 BC), he also used large numbers of horses in his army. But the Greeks’ horses weren’t much larger than the Przewalski horses.²⁹ Even Alexander’s Thessaly horse Bucephalus (the ‘bull-headed’) cannot have been much larger. We see him riding on Bucephalus on the well known mosaic from Pompeii during the battle of Issos in 333 BC against Darius III (pl. 22),³⁰ now in the National Museum of Naples, Italy.

We can be sure that Alexander’s horse specialists were always looking for fresh horses on their march to the East. Again and in all likelihood the Greeks and Macedonians could not rely on a supply of fresh horses from their homeland, so in addition they must have used breeds of horses they found all over Iran. At the present time we have no clear picture of the Achaemenian horses which were used not only for war-chariots but also for riding. We know that Darius III allowed himself to be depicted as a keen rider (Herodotus III, 8, 3) and came to power with the help of his groom, Oibares. The problem has been discussed widely by Dieter Metzler.³¹ With the Parthians and later during the time of the Sasanians, the Iranian kings are depicted on their marvellous horses on their rock reliefs. In contrast to all images of horses shown up until then, these horses are obviously thoroughbreds; they all have long and strong legs, and expressively formed cruppers. It is an open question if the Sasanians bred these magnificent horses themselves or with the help of neighbouring nomads from the North and from the East of their territories. To breed such larger war-horses must have required quite a long period of experience (pl. 23).³² As could be seen on the rock-relief of Naqsh-e Rostam in Iran,³³ which illustrates the investiture of Ardashir I in 224 AD by Ohrmazd, these horses were of a compact and heavy structure. So at the latest during the beginning of the 3rd century AD, such horses

²⁶ Bill Cooke, “The Horse in Chinese History”, in Bill Cooke (ed.), *Imperial China: The Art of the Horse in Chinese History, Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Kentucky Horse Park Museum* (Lexington (Kentucky), 2000), p. 27-62, see pp. 41-44.

²⁷ William Watson (ed.), *The Genius of China: An Exhibition of archaeological finds of the People’s Republic of China held at the Royal Academy* (London 1973), p. 119-120, no. 222.

²⁸ Jane Gaston Mahler, *The Westerners among the figurines of the T’ang-Dynasty in China*, Instituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Serie Orientale 20 (Rome 1959); P. Eichenbaum-Karetzky, “Foreigners in T’ang and pre T’ang Painting”, *Oriental Art*, New Series 30.2 (1984), pp. 160-166; J. Hildebrandt, *Das Ausländerbild in der Kunst Chinas als Spiegel kultureller Beziehungen (Han bis Tang)*, Münchner Ostasiatische Studien 46 (Wiesbaden, Stuttgart, 1987); Ezekiel Schloss, *Foreigners in Ancient Chinese Art* (New York 1969); Ezekiel Schloss, *Ancient Chinese Ceramic Sculpture from Han to Tang*, 2 vols. (Stanford, 1977).

²⁹ Victor Davies Hanson, *Der Krieg in der griechischen Antike* (Leipzig 2001), pp. 158-160.

³⁰ Klaus Stähler, *Das Alexandermosaik: Über Machterreichung und Machtverlust* (Frankfurt/Main 1999).

³¹ Dieter Metzler, *Ziele und Formen königlicher Innenpolitik im vorislamischen Iran*, (Unpublished ‘Habilitationsschrift’, Münster, 1977), pp. 148-154.

³² Roman Ghirshman, *Iran: Parther und Sasaniden* (Munich, 1962), pp. 127-132, 152, fig. 195, p. 161, fig. 205, pp. 167-168, p. 179, fig. 220, p. 192, fig. 235, p. 207, fig. 247, p. 208, fig. 250, p. 212, fig. 254, p. 220, fig. 262, p. 242, fig. 295, p. 249, fig. 314, p. 263, fig. 339.

³³ Ghirshman, *Iran: Parther und Sasaniden*, p. 132, fig. 168 (here fig. 12).

must have been the standard for the Sasanians' war-horse. It is difficult to come to any conclusion about what the Parthian horses looked like in the four centuries before the Sasanians came to power. Maybe a relief, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio, originally from Dura Europos in Syria, of ca. 100–150 AD gives us a little help at hand (pl. 24). But once again we see that this horse too is of a heavier structure.³⁴ Searching for realistic depictions of horses in the Iranian world before the Sasanians is, as we have tried to show, extremely difficult. We can only assume that horse-breeding in the Iranian world between Alexander the Great and the end of the Parthian era increased widely, so that such heavy horses like the 'Sasanian ones' could be raised. To raise horses different from the Przewalski type became necessary because of a change in the tactical use of horses for war in general. The Parthians, who constantly maintained contacts in the world of the Central Asian steppes throughout their reign,³⁵ were responsible for this new breed. Since the late Hellenistic times of the Parthians, horses were needed for the heavy Cataphractarian riders; such a use would have been impossible with small horses of the Tarpan or Przewalski types.³⁶ Besides these heavy types of horses another much lighter one was bred, i.e. that for the warrior on horseback who only used the reflex-bow,³⁷ but which was also used for hunting.

On the other hand we learn from the fantastic depiction of riding warriors from the bone-clasp or 'Battle plaque' from Orlat, Kurgan Tepe near Samarkand in Uzbekistan of the 3rd to the first quarter of the 4th century AD (pl. 25), that another type of war-horse was also in use during the earliest phase of the Middle Ages in pre Islamic Central Asia.³⁸ As far as we know, the date of the plates from Orlat is most likely the 3rd/4th c. AD, even if others have dated them slightly earlier.³⁹ As stated above, M. Mode argues for a date in the 3rd/4th century AD for the Orlat plates, i.e. for a date within the phase of the 'Hunnish wave', as did his scholarly teacher B. Brentjes in 1990⁴⁰ with good arguments because of the history of arms and armour depicted from the battle-plaque of Orlat. If one more or less accepts that the Orlat plates should be dated to the 3rd/4th century, it is once more interesting to wonder in which "older Scythian" style the horses are pictured.

On the one hand the cruppers of the Orlat horses are depicted like those on the well known carpet from Kurgan no. 5 of Pazyryk of the 4th century BC, showing a rider on horseback in front of a seated female person or deity.⁴¹ But if one looks at the neck and head of the Orlat horses one is reminded of the fine horses on a Buddhist painting in the "Malerhöhle" at Kyzil, Northern Silk Road in the Tarim Basin, once dated by the excavator A. von LeCoq to the 6th/7th century AD.⁴² (pl. 26) One might be confused by such comparisons which are hundreds of years apart from each other. But one could answer that we find here insightful traces for the development of horse-breeding among nomads and their sedentary neighbours of Central Asia in a time-span between the 4th century BC and the 6th/7th centuries AD! Maybe this also throws some light on the trade with horses and the individual breeding of horses at different places along the Silk Roads. We will come back to this elementary question later on.

³⁴ Malcolm A.R. Colledge, *Parthian Art* (London 1977), plate 22.

³⁵ Marek Jan Olbrycht, *Parthia et ulteriores gentes. Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen dem arsakidischen Iran und den Nomaden der eurasischen Steppen* (Munich, 1998).

³⁶ Jäger, *Reiter, Reiterkrieger und Reiternomaden zwischen Rheinland und Korea*, pp. 89-101.

³⁷ Jäger, *Reiter, Reiterkrieger und Reiternomaden zwischen Rheinland und Korea*, pp. 15-21.

³⁸ Markus Mode, "Heroic fights and dying horses: The Orlat battle plaque and the roots of Sogdian art", in M. Compareti, P. Raffetta and G. Scarcia (eds.) *Eran ud Aneran. Studies Presented to Boris I. Marshak in Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (Venice, 2006), pp. 419-454.

³⁹ Boris I. Marshak, "Iskusstvo Sogda", B. B. Piotrovskiy, G. M. Bongard-Levin (eds.), *Central'naya Aziya: Novyye pamyatniki pis'mennosti i iskusstva. Sbornik statey* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 233-248; Mikhail V. Gorelik, "Zashchitnoe vooruzhenie stepnoy zoni Evrazii i primikayushchikh k ney territoriy v I tis". In V. E. Medvedev, Yu. S. Khudyakov (eds.), *Voennoye delo naseleniya yuga Sibiri i Dal'nego Vostoka* (Novosibirsk, 1993), pp. 149-179; Jangar Ya. Ilyasov, Dimitry V. Rusanov, "A study on the bone plates from Orlat", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 5 (1997-1998), pp. 107-159; Boris A. Litvinsky, "The Bactrian ivory plate with a hunting scene from the Temple of the Oxus", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7 (2001), pp. 137-166.

⁴⁰ Burchard Brentjes, "Zu den Reiterbildern von Kurgan-Tepe", *Iranica Antiqua* 25 (1990), pp. 173-182.

⁴¹ Karl Jettmar, *Die frühen Steppenvölker, Der eurasiatische Tierstil, Entstehung und sozialer Hintergrund* (Baden-Baden, 1965), pp. 115, 117.

⁴² Albert von LeCoq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens* (rpt. Graz 1977), p. 54, fig. 50.

That a more or less radical change in breeding horses had taken place at latest during the early middle ages of Central Asia, between the 5th-7th century AD, can also be detected when having a closer look at the fine rock carvings of two horses at Thalpan Bridge on the upper Indus of Northern Pakistan⁴³ (pl. 27). These horses can very well be compared with images of horses from the wall paintings of Sogdiana of the 6th/7th century AD, for example from Panjikent.⁴⁴ At Panjikent we find horses which for sure can be called thoroughbreds. The Thalpan Bridge horses obviously show the same thoroughbreds, but looking at their heads we can detect that they are still a little ram-nosed like on earlier depictions which showed us horses nearer to the Przewalski type. When examining the horses of the Buddhist wall painting at Kyzil from the "Malerhöhle" (pl. 26) and comparing these horses with two terracotta horse statuettes from Shurtshuk (pl. 28) on the northern Silk Road, found by M. A. Stein⁴⁵ (dated at the latest to the 8th century AD), we see that well established thoroughbreds are meant. But again a slight influence of the Przewalski horse remains, i.e. the upright mane. However, on the well known wall painting from the Uighur city of Qocho, now in the Turfan-Collection of the Museum of Asiatic Art of Berlin (the 8th/9th century AD), depicting the departure of Siddhartha on his horse Kanthaka (pl. 29), we note that the horse has lost the upright mane.⁴⁶

Horse-breeding in China reached its peak during the Tang dynasty (618–906 AD). As mentioned above it was always in the hands of foreigners from the western part of Central Asia. One of the finest ceramic horses in the *sancai* 三彩 technique of the Tang dynasty (dating 723 AD, pl. 30)⁴⁷ shows the full development to thoroughbreds in China under Central Asian influence. It must be stated again that this kind of fine horse-breeding was only possible with the help of Central Asian foreigners; either of nomadic or of sedentary heritage and stock. Riding on such marvellous horses for hunting, playing Polo, going to war was a privilege only for the early medieval aristocracy of China. As far as we know, the development or breeding of the Tang horse was accomplished without any input from horses of Arabian descent.⁴⁸

SUMMARY

Horse-breeding started with the Przewalski horse, the wild horse of Eurasia. According to all technical literature on horse-breeding, the Przewalski horse was never tamed and consequently never ridden. Maybe the Tarpan, still existent in Eastern Europe until the very early 19th century, with physical outlook very close to the Przewalski horse, was the earliest breed of horse and the one from which all further horse-breeding started. Some Tarpans did not have an upright mane, but one which hung down to its neck. Incidentally, this was also the case with the horses belonging to the Huns which arrived in Eastern Europe in the late 4th century AD according to Flavius Vegetius Renatus.⁴⁹ The nomads of Central Asia bred horses for their very special purposes – fit for riding while herding their flocks, for hunting and of course for warfare. Very often forgotten, nomads also played an important role in the trade along the Silk Roads in pre-Islamic and Islamic times.⁵⁰ The horses had to be persistent runners and must have had the ability to cope with all climatic changes and hardships of heat and extreme cold, as well as being able to endure long rides.

Our 17 illustrations and those quoted in the footnotes could only illustrate the likely development of horse-breeding between Bactria/Gandhara and the Tarim Basin between the 2nd/3rd century and the 8th/9th century AD. No complete picture has been shown here! There is a certain tendency in the history of horse-breeding to go for larger horses, not only for aesthetic reasons, but also because heavier animals could, for

⁴³ Volker Thewalt, "Pferdedarstellungen in Felszeichnungen am oberen Indus", in J. Ozols and V. Thewalt (eds.), *Aus dem Osten des Alexanderreiches*, pp. 204-218, see p. 210, fig.7 and p. 211, fig. 8.

⁴⁴ Alexandr Belenitzkij, *Mittelasiens: Kunst der Sogden* (Leipzig, 1980), pp. 64, 67.

⁴⁵ Marc Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, 5 vols, (Oxford 1921), IV, plate CXXXVI.

⁴⁶ Benjamin Rowland jr, *Zentralasien* (Baden-Baden, 1970), p. 194 (Tang-sculptural ceramic comparison on p. 195, fig. 74).

⁴⁷ Helmut Brinker and Roger Goepfer (eds.), *Kunstschätze aus China. 5000 v.Chr bis 900 n.Chr. Neuere Funde aus der Volksrepublik China* (Zürich, 1980), p. 311, no. 80, p. 312, fig. 80.

⁴⁸ Alexis von Wrangel, *Der Araber in Arabien: Die edelste Pferderasse der Welt* (Heidenheim, 1966).

⁴⁹ Flavius Vegetius Renatus, *Digestorum artis mulomedicinae libri quatuor*, H. P. Lommatsch (ed.) (Leipzig 1903).

⁵⁰ Hans-Wilhelm Haussig, *Die Geschichte Zentralasiens und der Seidenstrasse in vorislamischer Zeit*, (Darmstadt, 1992, 2nd ed.); Marek Jan Olbrycht, "Der Fernhandel in Ostarmatien und in den benachbarten Gebieten", *Laverna* 12 (2001), pp. 86-122.

example, carry warriors with heavy armour. Also in time different colours, like completely white or black ones etc. came to be bred. This is reflected by the names of horses in Central Asia too.⁵¹

Besides the transport-animal of the Silk Road 'par excellence', the two-humped Bactrian camel⁵² (*camelus bactrianus*), in German unfriendly enough to be called 'Trampeltier', the horse played the most important role for the whole development of cultural interrelations in nearly all aspects of life.

Without horses men and ideas, as well as technologies and political changes, be it in peace or through war, would never have been possible on the Silk Roads between Gandhara and China. Horses have played a major role throughout history and were always the important vehicle, not only for the transportation of men, but also for his ideas and his ideals, as well as for religions, like Buddhism. With good reason we call the Silk Roads by this very name, but we could equally well call them the 'Horse Roads'. It is a pity that we do not have much more precise information about prices for horses in the different trading-places along the Silk Roads; the sources are silent about it. The Chinese sources between the Han and Tang dynasties again and again speak of fine horses bred by nomadic and sedentary peoples in Central Asia⁵³ and obviously some of these people tried to keep to themselves their knowledge about horse-breeding. Thus we hear that the Hepthalites bred a god-like horse in a cave which fertilized their mares.⁵⁴ With this background it is no wonder that the Chinese were always looking for grooms from such peoples who managed to furnish them with the finest horses. Much more archaeological research and many more investigations on an international scale are needed to be able to map out the full picture of horse-breeding all over Eurasia, but especially in the vast regions of Central Asia. These few lines are meant as a careful attempt for future discussions and cooperation.

⁵¹ Nikolaus Poppe, "Pferdenamen in der Geschichte und Sage der Nomaden Zentralasiens", *Oriens Extremus* 9 (1962), pp. 97-104.

⁵² Elfriede Regina Knauer, "The camel's load in life and death: Iconography and Ideology of Chinese Pottery Figurines from Han to Tang and their relevance to trade along the Silk Routes", *Acanthus Crescens* 4 (Zürich, 1998).

⁵³ Wolfram Eberhard, "Die Kultur der alten zentral- und westasiatischen Völker nach chinesischen Quellen", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 73 (1941), pp. 215-275, see: Teil 4 "Spezialfragen §1: Tabellarische vergleichende Übersicht der behandelten Kulturen", pp. 264-266.

⁵⁴ Wolfram Eberhard, "Die Kultur der alten zentral- und westasiatischen Völker", p. 257.

Policies of Acquiring Horses in Early Yuan China: A Short Note on the Case of Dongping (1238)

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The Mongolian (or Yuan) period in China lasted for around one hundred and fifty years, from the first half of the thirteenth to the second half of the fourteenth century. It took more than sixty years for the Mongols to conquer the whole of China – from Chingiz Khan's (Qa'an) first campaign against Jin (1211) to the year when Qubilai Khan destroyed the Southern Song (1279). Mongolian rule ended in 1368 when Ming troops entered Dadu 大都, i.e., modern Beijing.

Following earlier traditions, the Mongols referred to the administration of all matters related to horses as *mazheng* 馬政.² *Mazheng*, or “horse affairs”, played an important role in the Yuan court. The Mongolian government set up special institutions named *Taipu si* 太僕寺 and *Shangcheng si* 尚乘寺 to look after these matters. The *Taipu si* was responsible for providing horses to the royal family, the court, government institutions and high-ranking officials; it also had to deal with horse raising at the government-owned horse farms. The *Shangcheng si* took care of horse equipment such as saddles, bridles, etc.³ The scope of *mazheng* also included the administration of horses used by the government postal stations, and feeding the mares that belonged to the royal family and the Mongolian court.⁴

¹ Department of History, Nanjing University.

² Song Lian 宋濂, *Yuan shi*, 15 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), j. 100, pp. 2553-2558; *Da Yuan mazheng ji* 大元馬政記, Guangchang xuejun congshu ed. 廣倉學君叢書 (no date), 3b.

³ *Yuan Shi*, j. 90, pp. 2288-2289, describes the *Taipu si* and *Shangcheng si* as follows: “(1) *Taipu si* (Institution of the Grand Servants), lower 2nd rank, responsible for the *atasi* (阿塔思, i.e. Mongolian akhtas or castrated horses) and the supply and production of saddles and bridles. In 1263, the *Qunmu suo* (群牧所, Office in Charge of the Official Horse Herds) was set up. In 1279 this name was changed to *Shangmu jian* (尚牧監, Institution in Charge of Observing the Royal Horse Herds), in 1282 to *Taipu yuan* (太僕院, Institution of the Grand Servants) and in 1283 to *Weiwei yuan* (衛尉院, Institute of the Guards). In 1287 the *Weiwei yuan* was abolished and [the old name] *Taipu si* restored, while another institution called *Shangcheng si* was established. [The latter] was responsible for saddles and bridles, the [*Taipu*] *si* took care of the *atasi*. In 1288, [this institution] was subordinated to the *Zhongshu* (中書, the Central Secretariat), and [the positions of] two *tidiao* (提調, administrative officials) were created. In 1307, [the name] *Taipu yuan* was restored. In 1311, [the final character] *si* was used again. [Now this institution] had two *qing* (卿, directors) of the lower 2nd rank, two *shaoping* (少卿, deputy directors) of the lower 4th rank, two *cheng* (丞, assistant officials) of the lower 5th rank, and one each of [the categories] *jingli* 經歷, *zhishi* 知事, *zhaomo* 照磨, *guangou* 管勾 (all lower ranks), [furthermore] seven *lingshi* (令史, secretaries), two *yishi* (譯史, translators), two *zhiying* (知印, seal officers) and two *tongshi* (通事, interpreters), four *zouchai* (奏差, reporting envoys), one *huihui lingli* (回回令史, Persian translator) and two *dianli* (典吏, office workers). (2) *Shangcheng si*, higher 3rd rank, responsible for saddles, bridles and imperial coaches; for the [imperial] herds of *akhtas*, donkeys and mules; for local institutions involved in the production of saddles and bridles; for the supervision of the annual production of saddles and bridles by the provinces; for deciding on disputes caused by the *akhtači* (阿塔赤, horsemen) of the four *keshigs* (怯薛, the Mongolian body guards, existing since the time of Chingiz Khan); and for acquiring horses from the northern and southern areas. [The *Shangcheng si*] had four *qing* (directors) of the higher 3rd rank, two *shaoping* (deputy directors) of the lower 4th rank, two *cheng* (assistant officials) of the lower 5th rank, one *jingli*, one *zhishi*, one *zhaomo* and one *guangou*, [furthermore] six *lingshi*, two *yishi*, two *zhiying*, two *tongshi*, five *zouchai* and two *dianli*. In 1287, the *Weiwei yuan* was abolished and the *Shangcheng si* first established. [The latter] was responsible for the *Zicheng ku* (資乘庫, Storages of Saddles and Bridles). In 1307, its level was elevated [from *si*] to *yuan*, [i.e.] to the lower 2nd rank. In 1311, it was downgraded to the [former] *si* [status], and in 1320 to the lower 3rd rank.” – One additional office may also be of interest: “*Zicheng ku* (Storage of Saddles and Bridles), lower 5th rank, [equipped with] four *tidiao* (提點, directors) of the lower fifth rank, three *dashi* (大使, envoys) of the higher 6th rank, four *fushi* (副使, deputy envoys) of the higher 7th rank and four *kuzhi* (庫子, storage masters), and responsible for receiving and providing saddles and bridles. [This office] was established in 1276. In 1283, it was subordinated to *Weiwei [yuan]*; in 1287 it was put under the *Shangcheng si*.”

⁴ *Yuan shi*, j. 100, p. 2553.

One may perhaps expect that under Yuan rule many Mongolian horses were brought to and distributed in the interior of China. But not infrequently the opposite was the case: the Mongol-Yuan government collected horses from the sedentary population inside China proper. One method of obtaining horses in this way was referred to as *hemai* 和買, which means buying something at a fixed price set up by the government. Usually that price was rather low. When the number of horses within China was insufficient for their needs, the Mongol government would use local funds to buy additional horses from the northern steppes.

The *hemai* policy began under Ögedei 窩闊台, the second son of Chingiz Khan, also called Yuan Taizong 元太宗. With Ögedei's conquest of Jin, large segments of northern China fell under Mongol control, and the Mongol government began to extract local treasures from these new areas. The postal stations near the Great Wall in particular became involved in that transfer. As transportation depended on horses, in 1238 Ögedei ordered that horses be collected from the interior of China to assist the border stations in their new role. This was recorded in the *Da Yuan mazheng ji* 大元馬政記, a text which merits a careful analysis.

The present paper will focus on that text, and try to explain the background of the situation when the *hemai* policy was first put into operation. The text is as follows:

Buying Horses at a Fair Price [Set by the Government]⁵

On the second day of the sixth month of the tenth year (1238), Ögedei Khan issued an imperial edict to Jarquči Huduhu 胡都虎 (Qutuqu)⁶, Taluhu[dai] 塔魯虎□ (Tarquai)⁷ and Elubu 訛魯不 (Erubu?)⁸, the essence of which is as follows: All the goods [collected] from different regions to be transported to the government and [the envoys bringing] silks [and other treasures to the fiefdoms of the nobles] pass through Yanjing 燕京,⁹ Xuande 宣德¹⁰ and Xijing 西京.¹¹ Therefore the horses and oxen of these

⁵ For the Chinese text, see *Da Yuan mazheng ji*, 3b. – On the *hemai* policy, see, for example, Chen Gaohu 陳高華, “Lun Yuandai de hegu hemai” 論元代的和雇和買, in *Yuanshi yanjiu lungao* 元史研究論稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1991), pp. 47-66; Chen Gaohua and Shi Weiming 史衛民, “Guanma, shima yu kuama” 官馬, 市馬與括馬, and “Hegu, hemai yu hedi” 和雇, 和買與和糴, in *Zhongguo jingji tongshi, Yuandai jingji juan* 中國經濟史, 元代經濟卷 (Beijing: Economic Daily Publishing House / Jingji ribao chubanshe, 2000), p. 356 (wrongly p. 355) to p. 362, pp. 719-750; and Gao Shulin 高樹林, “Shidi yu hemai” 市糴與和買, in *Yuandai fuyi zhidu yanjiu* 元代賦役制度研究 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 1997), pp. 52-55.

⁶ Zhaluhuachi 割魯花赤, in Mongolian *jarqači*, i.e., “great lawgiver”, or, more simply, one who decrees. – Hutuhu was a famous Mongolian officer in the time of Chingiz Khan and Ögedei Khan. His full name – Shigi-qutuqu, variously transcribed as 忽禿忽, 胡土虎 (both read Hutuhu), or 忽睹虎 (Huduhu) in Chinese sources – was often abbreviated to Prime Minister Hu 胡丞相. He is also mentioned in Mongolian works such as the *Secret History of the Mongols* and in Persian texts like the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*. Hutuhu hailed from a Tatar tribe. Still a baby, he was captured by Chingiz Khan and brought up by the latter's mother who adopted him. When the Yeke Mongolian Ulus was founded in 1206, Chingiz Khan appointed him to be the Yeke Jarquči, i.e., the highest lawgiver or chief judge. Later Hutuhu joined Chingiz Khan's campaign in Central Asia and also served in the war against Jin. In the mid 1230s, Ögedei made him the chief civil official of the Zhongdu (中都, Beijing) area. He kept this position until the 1240s.

⁷ No other source mentions this Tarquai. In the *Secret History of the Mongols*, there is another Tarquai, but this is not the same person.

⁸ Elubu was one of the colleagues of Yalavači, i.e., Hutuhu's (Qutuqu's) successor. In 1251, when Mönke became Great Khan, the Mongolian government in Yanjing (Beijing) became known under the name “Mobile Secretariat of Yanjing and Other Places” (燕京等處行尚書省). Among the high-ranking officials in this institution one finds a certain Wolubu 斡魯不. This Wolubu must be the same as Elubu. See Zhang Fan 張帆, *Yuandai zaixiang zhidu yanjiu* 元代宰相制度研究 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1997), p. 9. Also see Zhao Qi 趙琦, “Ren zhi Yanjing xingsheng jiqi xiashu jigou de rushi” 任職燕京行尚書省及其下屬機構的儒士, in *Jin-Yuan zhiji de rushi yu Han wenhua* 金元之際的儒士與漢文化 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2004), pp. 97-98.

⁹ In the second year of Ögedei's rule, taxes were collected in ten different areas of northern China. These were then called Shi lu keshuisuo 十路課稅所 and Yanjing lu was one of them. – Yanjing was the name of Beijing from Liao to early Mongol times. When Qubilai moved his capital to this site, it became known as Dadu 大都, “Great Capital”. – According to the geographical chapters of the Yuan annals, j. 58, pp. 1347-1349, the region of Yanjing comprised six counties and ten prefectures (plus some dependencies). The counties are: (1) Daxing 大興, (2) Wanping 宛平, (3) Liangxiang 良鄉, (4) Yongqing 永清, (5) Baodi 寶坻 and (6) Changping 昌平. The prefectures: (1) Zuozhou 涿州 (with two subordinated counties: Fanyang 范陽 and Fangshan 房山), (2) Bazhou 霸州 (with four counties: Yijin 益津, Wenan 文安, Dacheng 大城 and Baoding 保定), (3) Tongzhou 通州 (with two counties: Lu Xian 潞縣 and Sanhe 三河), (4) Jizhou 薊州 (with five counties: Yuyang 漁陽, Fengrun 豐潤, Yutian 玉田, Zunhua 遵化 and Pinggu 平谷), (5) Guozhou 涖州 (with two counties: Wuqing 武清 and Xianghe 香河), (6) Shunzhou 順州, (7) Tanzhou 檀州, (8) Donganzhou 東安州, (9) Gu'an zhou 固安州, (10) Longqingzhou 龍慶州 (with one county: Huailai 懷來).

three *lu* 路 are difficult to acquire for exchange. Presently, controlling their numbers in the postal stations is urgently needed, [counting] the [entire] population of the empire, and installing a unified tax system so as to help the above-mentioned three *lu*.¹²

The burden of contributing horses and oxen [should be calculated in the following manner]: one horse is to be levied from every 217.4 “formerly registered households” (*jiuhu* 舊戶)¹³, and one from every 434.8 “newly registered” ones (*xinhu* 新戶)¹⁴; one cow / ox from every 169.2 *jiuhu*, and one from every 338.4 *xinhu*.¹⁵ On the day when the imperial edict is received, [special] envoys – together with the envoys of the local governments – should be sent out to the different *lu*, urging each unit to check on the numbers, and asking them to collect [their share accordingly].

It was found out that in the southern *lu*, horses and cattle are difficult to collect. Now the price for one horse is set at 30 *liang* (silver), and that for one cow / ox at 20 *liang*. All regional administrations should follow these figures. Yanjing will advance silk in bundles, yarn, gauze, thin taffeta, etc., according to the average cost of the incoming animals. The three *lu* are ordered to erect store houses, and to spend [all] products according to the official documents, and thus to circulate things among the people of Yibei 迤北,¹⁶ so as to acquire [more] horses and cattle through exchange. If [people] of different places would like to purchase horses and cattle, that should be permitted; [but] causing trouble and asking for additional silks should not be allowed. Besides the [instructions in the] official documents [stamped] with the royal seal to be dispatched locally, the following [should be observed] in regard to [the additional animals] which Yanjing is to receive through the *lu*: In the prefectures and counties belonging to Dongping 東平 *lu*,¹⁷ [a total of] 234,585 households was counted.¹⁸ Of these some were repeatedly censored, their number amounting to 5,850 [in all], because it was not certain whether they should be placed into the “formerly” or “newly” registered category. [These cases] were temporarily treated as “formerly registered” ones – to relieve them from the duty [of paying animals]. So the number of families obliged to present [horses and cattle] amounts to [only] 228,735.¹⁹ Within this figure are “newly” and “formerly registered families” checked by the tax office of our *lu*; [they] will be taxed according to the prescribed rates, and [the animals in question] will be delivered separately. The total number of horses to be collected [thus] amounts to 788.55, and that of the cattle to 1017.24.²⁰ The 115,247 “formerly registered families” should contribute 529.15 horses and 681.8 cows / oxen²¹; the 113,488 “newly registered families” should contribute 259.4 horses and 335.44 cows / oxen.²²

¹⁰ The name Xuande is first recorded in Jin times. Under Qubilai Xuande included three counties – (1) Xuande, (2) Xuanping 宣平, (3) Shensheng 順聖 – and two prefectures, namely (1) Bao'an 保安 (with one county: Yongxing 永興), and (2) Weizhou 蔚州 (with five counties: Linxian 靈仙, Linqiu 靈丘, Feihu 飛狐, Ding'an 定安, Guang Lin 廣靈). Ibid., j. 58, pp. 1350-1351.

¹¹ Xijing is modern Datong 大同. The name Xijing was used under the Liao and Jin. Ibid., j. 58, p. 1375. – In 1230, according to the same source (see j. 2, p. 30, there), the Yeke Mongol Ulus divided its northern Chinese territory into ten *lu* 路: Yanjing, Xuande, Xijing, Taiyuan 太原, Pingyang 平陽, Zhending 真定, Dongping 東平, Beijing 北京, Pingzhou 平州, and Ji'nan 濟南. The three *lu* mentioned above, in *Da Yuan mazheng ji*, are among the ten. In the sixth year under Ögedei (1234), Jin was destroyed and the Henan-Shaanxi region fell into Mongol hands. See Zhao Qi, *Jin-Yuan zhiji*, pp. 76-77, 82-83. – For the postal routes from to Mongolia, please see Chen Dezhi 陳得芝, “Yuan Lingbei xingsheng zhu yilu kao” 元嶺北行省諸驛路考, in *Meng-Yuanshi yanjiu congkao* 蒙元史研究叢稿 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2005), pp. 3-18.

¹² Chen Gaohua and Shi Weiming, “Yuandai de renkou shuzi” 元代的人口數字, in *Zhongguo jingji shi, Yuandai jingji juan*, pp. 21-26.

¹³ Families under Mongol rule since the campaign of Chingiz Khan.

¹⁴ Jin families in the area controlled by the Mongols since the Mongol-Jin war. See Chen Gaohua and Shi Weiming, *Zhongguo jingji tongshi, Yuandai jingji juan*, p. 507 (in the table of contents wrongly 355) to p. 517.

¹⁵ Chen Gaohua noticed that the burden of the “newly registered families” was half of that of the “formerly registered” ones. See “Yuandai shuiliang zhidu chutan” 元代稅糧制度初探, in *Yuanshi yanjiu lungao*, pp. 1-20. – Possibly the reasons is that, after the Jin collapse, the former were poorer than the latter.

¹⁶ Yibei: Inner Mongolia and Mongolia in the Yuan and early Ming period.

¹⁷ In 1220, Yan Shi 嚴實, a military lord, surrendered the region comprising Zhangde 彰德, Daming 大名, Ci 磁, Ming 洺, En 恩, Bu 博, Rui 濬 and Hua 滑 – with 300,000 families altogether – to the Mongols. He himself was stationed in Dongping. See *Yuan shi*, j. 58, p. 1365.

¹⁸ In 1220 Dongping counted 300,000 families (see above). In 1272, the number was down to circa 50,000. The reason for this decline would make an interesting topic for further research.

¹⁹ Note: 234,585 – 5,850 = 228,735, and 115,247 + 113,488 = 228,735.

²⁰ The number of horses to be collected from the “formally registered families” was 529.15, the number of the horses for the “newly registered families” was 259.4. Thus the total of 788.55. – The number of oxen / cows to be collected from the “formally registered families” was 681.8, the number of the oxen / cows for the “newly registered families” was 335.44. Thus the total of 1017.24.

²¹ According to the fixed rate for shared taxes, the 115,247 “formerly registered households” divided by the rate of a horse per 217.4 families gives 530.1149954, which is very near to the number 529.15. – Again: 115,247 divided by the rate of a cow or ox per 169.2 families gives 681.128841607, which is again very near to 681.8.

²² 113,488 divided by the number 259.4 gives 437.501927525, which is very near to the fixed rate of a horse per 434.8 families. – 113,488 divided by 335.44 gives 338.325781063, which is very near to the fixed rate of a cow per 338.4 families.

Around twenty-two years later, in the first year under Qubilai (1260), it was again ordered to collect horses in the north. According to the *Da Yuan mazheng ji*, the number of animals that Dongping was to contribute, was now set at 800, which is very close to the figure of 788.55 defined in 1238. This suggests that quantities had not changed very much during the entire lifetime of the Yeke Mongol Ulus. Possibly, the same also applies to other regions of northern China. If so, then we are looking at a fairly stable situation that lasted for more than two decades.

Here it may be of some interest to list the total number of horses that had to be gathered in northern China. According to the *Da Yuan mazheng ji* this number was set at 10,000 in 1260. The regional distribution was as follows: 2,400 animals from Yanjing, 800 from Zhending, 2,000 from Beijing, 800 from Pingyang, 800 Dongping (as mentioned above), 400 from Ji'nan and Bin-0-lu (濱口路; second character lost), 400 from Daming, and 2,400 from Xijing.

If we compare these names – nine in all – with the list of ten *lu* encountered under Ögedei, we find that eight of them are identical. Two – Xuande and Pingzhou – are absent. Moreover, the missing character in the seventh name can be restored through a reference in the Yuan annals: Bingdi 濱棣.²³

Although Ögedei's edict quoted above does not specify the number of horses that were to be collected in the whole of northern China during 1238, I am inclined to think that it was also around 10,000, just as in the days of Qubilai.

²³ *Yuanshi*, j. 58, p. 1373. In the second year of the Zhiyuan period, Bing Di was placed under Ji'nan.

Horses in the East-West Trade between China and Iran under Mongol Rule

YOKKAICHI Yasuhiro¹

INTRODUCTION

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the Mongol empire expanded its territory, the flourishing east-west interchange effected a change in the economic structure of East Asia, and this had an impact on Central Asia, India and the Islamic world. For instance, the Chinese dynasties used to buy many horses from the northern nomads, for which they paid in silk, tea and silver. In other words, the Chinese economy and the nomadic economies in Northern Asia and Central Asia were connected with each other by the horse trade. During the period of Mongol domination over Central Eurasia, some economic areas worked closely with each other across this broad region.

Yajima Hikoichi points out there was a link between overland trade in the Eurasian continent and maritime trade in the Indian Ocean. According to him, ocean sailings that harnessed the seasonal monsoon climate and overland shipments of caravans were closely related and were used alternatively, depending on the season.² Therefore, we should consider not only overland routes but also the link between overland and sea routes from the viewpoint of both the individual economic structures of China, India, and Iran and a broad-based structure.

The purpose of this paper is to show the economic structure of commodity flow around Central Eurasia and the Indian Ocean from the perspective of the horse trade and related policies. In particular, we wish to show how the horse trade was related to the east-west trade between the Yuan and Il-khanid dynasties.

HORSES AND THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE DURING THE MONGOL EMPIRE AND YUAN PERIOD

In ancient times, the North Asian nomads used to pay for their transactions with sedentary people with their livestock such as cattle and horses. The *Heida shilüe* 黑韃事略 (*Brief Report on the Black Tatars*) contains records showing that the Mongols were no exception to this practice; they too used to pay the Chinese in horses and sheep in trade transactions.³ However, since horses were vital for military activities, the Mongols needed to buy them in large numbers in the course of the expansion of their domain. The *Secret History of the Mongols*, for example, reveals that Asan (Ḥasan), who traded in domestic animals, provided aid to Genghis Khan after defeat in the war against Wang Qan of the Kereit clan.⁴ Then Genghis Khan established his supremacy over the western part of the Mongolian steppes. It can be imagined that immediately after this, vast numbers of livestock and arms provided by merchants like Ḥasan enabled the Mongols' rapid recovery of military power. Many scholars, including V.V. Bartold, consider Ḥasan as the *Khwārazm* merchant Ḥasan Ḥadjdī who attended Genghis Khan.⁵

Following the reunification of the Mongolian steppes and the expansion of Mongol control over some sedentary communities, the Mongols implemented a tax system to control the nomadic and sedentary territories; a livestock tax called *qobčiri* (Persian: *qopčur*) was imposed on nomadic people. This tax, imposed on nomads who herded domestic animals, was collected at the rate of one head per hundred heads.

¹ Kyushu University, Kyushu.

² Yajima 1993, pp. 10-20; Yajima 2006(b), pp. 17-30, pp. 136-138.

³ *Heida shilüe*/Wang, vol. 12, p. 5052.

⁴ Ni'ūča/Sibu congkan, cap. 182; Ni'ūča/Irinčin, p. 160; Ni'ūča/Murakami, vol. 2, pp. 193-194, pp. 206-207; Ni'ūča/Rachewiltz, p. 104, pp. 657-658.

⁵ Barthold 1968, p. 414.

It was established during the reign of Ügedei Qayan as an important means to procure a large number of horses for the Mongol government. This system became permanent under the subsequent Mongol regimes and was still in existence at the time of Yuan China and Il-khanid Iran.

The management of horse affairs within the financial structure of the Yuan dynasty was not very different than that of the Mongol empire. The difference lay in the fact that the Chinese dynasties, especially those after the Tang dynasty, used to trade tea, silk and other goods for horses with the northern nomads; this trade is called “silk-horse trade” or “tea-horse trade”.⁶ However, under the Yuan dynasty, in which the Mongols were the ruling class, the circumstance was a little different. These people had no need to trade tea or silk for horses because their own country was able to meet their requirements. A large number of horses were bred on certain government ranches. According to the *Yuan shi* 元史 (*History of the Yuan*) and the *Dayuan mazhengji* 大元馬政記 (*Record of the management of horse affairs in the Yuan dynasty*), which were compiled from the *Jingshi dadian* 經世大典 (*Collected statutes of the Yuan dynasty*), there were fourteen government ranches for the great *ordu* (the *Qan*’s court) from Danluo 耽羅 in the east to Gansu 甘肅 in the west, and from Qorin 火里, Tömed 禿麻 in the north to Yunnan 雲南 in the south.⁷ At the same time, people who owned horses were asked to pay the aforementioned tax. This *qobčiri* tax existed throughout the Yuan period;⁸ Chinese sources that document the events in this period term this tax as *chou* 抽 or *choufen* 抽分.

However, the huge demand for horses for military campaigns or transportation could not be matched solely by such a tax. In times of need, ordinary people and government officials were compelled to deliver their horses to the Yuan government, which imposed a heavy burden on the former. Chinese sources refer to this requisition as *kuoma* 括馬. *kuo* 括 means to register something in the tax books and to bring it into requisition.⁹ In addition, the Yuan government used to buy a large number of horses from the market. For this purpose, a buying process known as *hemai* 和買 was adopted. Under this process, the government bought necessary goods at prices that were fixed officially; however, such transactions were partially forced on the sellers. The emperors of the Yuan dynasty occasionally gave out *majiayin* 馬價銀, *majiachao* 馬價鈔, *shimachao* 市馬鈔, and so on, as rewards or charitable gifts. These silver and paper currencies were intended to fund the purchase of horses. This implies that the Yuan government had indirect market dealings.¹⁰

For the abovementioned reasons, it can be stated that most of the horses for military and public use were supplied domestically under the Yuan dynasty. It is said that the Yuan government did not establish any *chamasi* 茶馬司 (bureaus for tea-horse trade), unlike the governments during the Song and Ming periods. Further, neither silk-horse trade nor tea-horse trade were conducted during the Yuan period. Although the Yuan government strictly prohibited the export of horses,¹¹ this does not imply that horses were not a part of

⁶ As for “tea-horse trade”, there are many studies, including Wang Xiaoyin 2004, which I will not explain fully. About “silk-horse trade,” see Matsuda Hisao’s studies.

⁷ Yuanshi/Bainaben, vol. 100, *bingzhi* 3, *mazheng* 馬政; Mazhengji/Shiliaosipian.

⁸ Yuanshi/Bainaben, vol. 19, Chengzongji 成宗紀 (Chronicle of Chengzong Temür), the *jiaxu* 甲戌 day of the 5th month of 2nd year of Yuanzhen 元貞 era; vol. 24, Renzongji 仁宗紀 (Chronicle of Renzong Ayurbarvada), the *dingmao* 丁卯 day of the 8th month of the 1st year of Huangqing 皇慶 era.

⁹ As regards *kuo* 括, for an example, see Yuanshi/Bainaben, vol. 162, Biography of Li Ting 李庭. “When prince Qaidu 海都 was setting out to invade a border, Bayan 伯顏 informed the court about it, and the Emperor ordered Yürlük 月兒魯 and Ting to consult together and make preparations to defend the border. Following this, Ting requested the Emperor to order a *kuo* for horses, and all 180,000 horses were subsequently obtained. The Yuan military depended on this *kuo*”; See also Yuanshi/Bainaben, vol. 121, Bibliography of Boryan. “It was prohibited to apply the decree of *kuo* to the horses of high officials. Boryan, however, said: I have a herd of horses and manage them in a field of 3000 *li* 里. If I do not offer my own horses as the foremost tribute, how can I lead officials and people? Following this, Boryan proceeded to give 18 of his good horses to the government.”

¹⁰ For example, see Yuanshi/Bainaben, vol. 5, Shizuji 世祖紀 (Chronicle of Shizu Qubilai), the *gengzu* 庚子 day of the 7th month of 4th year of Zhongtong 中統 era, “By decree, the prince Zhaodou (Jauyutu) 爪都 was vouchsafed *niumajiayin* 牛馬價銀 (silver used for purchase of oxen and horses) 63,100 *liang* 兩”; vol. 14, Shizuji, the *bingchen* 丙辰 day of the 2nd month of 23rd year of Zhiyuan 至元 era, “Chen Yiji 陳益稷, the king of Annan 安南, was vouchsafed *yangmachao* 羊馬鈔 (paper money used for purchase of sheeps and horses) 100 *ding* 錠”; vol. 18, Chengzongji, the *wuqu* 戊戌 day of the 4th month of the 1st year of Yuanzhen era, “The members of the *tammači* 探馬赤 army belonging to the emperor were supplied *shimachao* 市馬鈔 (paper money used for purchase of horses) 120,000 *ding*.”

¹¹ Yuandianzhang/Yuan. Bingbu 兵部 2, Junqi 軍器, Jin maimai ren junqi 禁買賣人軍器 (ban on buying and selling arms).

the flourishing east-west interaction during the Yuan period. The practice of bringing horses from the Islamic world to the Mongol court had existed since the reign of Genghis Khan. The situation under the Yuan dynasty was almost similar, and Arabian or Central Asian horses, called *xiyuma* 西域馬 or *xima* 西馬, were brought to the Mongol court by sea or land routes. For example, a leading merchant of Quanzhou, Muḥammad ‘Andī, supplied *xiyuma* to Wuzong 武宗 Qaišan,¹² and after Taidingdi 泰定帝 Yesūn Temür. Chinese sources contain many references to *xima* from the Il-khanid, Chaghatayid, and Jöchid dynasties.¹³ However, such horses brought from the west were the most luxurious articles sought after for the imperial family. We can presume that the scale of consumption of imported horses was smaller than that of domestic horses.

HORSES AND THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE DURING THE IL-KHANID PERIOD

With regard to the management of horse affairs, it appears that the Il-khanid dynasty was also similar to the Yuan dynasty. Although the livestock tax, called *qobčiri* in Mongolian, existed under the Il-khanid dynasty, it came to be called *marā’ī*¹⁴ – derived from Arabic – corresponding to *choufen* 抽分 under the Yuan dynasty. Chinese sources refer to this requisition as *kuoma* 括馬. *kuo* 括 means to register something in the tax books and to bring it into requisition. On the other hand, capitation tax and livestock tax, which were collected as many times as was needed, came to be called *qopčur* (Mongolian: *qobčiri*) and were more oppressive than *marā’ī*. In other words, *qopčur* in Persian corresponded to *kuo* in Chinese. In addition, the Il-khanid government used to purchase many horses from merchants. According to *Djāmi’ al-Tawārīkh*, privileged merchants called *ortuy* used to sell large numbers of horses to the Il-khanid government.¹⁵

As stated earlier, the government procured many horses through requisition, stock raising, or purchase. This circumstance is largely similar to that during the Yuan period, the only difference being that the export of horses was permitted and flourished under the Il-khanid dynasty. For example, the lords of Kīsh and Hormuz were assigned government posts in the local administration by the Il-khans and paid tax collected under them to the government. By this means, they were incorporated into the system of Mongol rule in Iran. In addition, each of these lords was also a Indian Ocean trader and an *ortuy* merchant dealing with the Il-khanid dynasty. As is well known, Arabian horses were included among their trade goods, and they used to export a large number of horses to India every year. The *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf* contains a detailed description on the manner in which these merchants sold a considerable number of horses to the Pāndiya Dynasty every year. Since this has already been discussed by some scholars, we would only like to point out the following facts: Takī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān – a brother of Djāmāl al-Dīn Ibrahīm al-Ṭībī, the lord of Kīsh – was appointed as a local governor (*nā’ib*), magistrate (*ḥākim*), and warlord (*marzbān*) by the emperor of the Pāndiya dynasty. He also occupied the post of international port manager, in which capacity he was responsible for importing a considerable number of horses from the Persian Gulf region. Following the death of the Pāndiyan emperor in A.H.692 (A.D.1292–93), the Pāndiya dynasty also awarded Djāmāl al-Dīn government posts and rights to import foreign goods including horses. The *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf* states that with

¹² Yuanshi/Bainaben, vol. 22, Wuzongji 武宗紀 (Chronicle of Wuzong Qaišan), the *wuyin* 戊寅 day of the 9th month of the 1st year of Zhida 至大 era, “Muḥammad ‘Andī 馬合馬丹的, a weighty merchant in Quanzhou 泉州 presented rare article, jeweled belt, and *xiyuma* 西域馬 (a western horse) to the Yuan court.”

¹³ Yuanshi/Bainaben, vol. 29, Taidingdiji 泰定帝紀 (Chronicle of Taidingdi Yesūn Temür), the *jimao* 己卯 day of the 6th month of the 1st yaer of Taiding 泰定 era; vol. 29, Taidingdiji, the *renxu* 壬戌 day of the 9th month of the 2nd yaer of Taiding era; vol. 30, Taidingdiji, the 1st month of the 3rd yaer of Taiding era; vol. 30, Taidingdiji, the *wuwu* 戊午 day of the 7th month of the 3rd year of Taiding era.

¹⁴ Honda 1961, pp. 286-287

¹⁵ According to *Djāmi’/Raushan*, “Although they (the imitators of *ortuy*) borrowed money, some of them did not sell armaments and horses with the seed money and wasted it on clothes and household equipments for themselves, while someone bribed the aforementioned *amīrs* with the money in return for a receipt. In other words, they pretended to sell 1000 sets of complete armaments and an equal number of horses and then produced a receipt indicating payment to the *bitikčiyān* (secretaries) of the government. This episode is mentioned in the biography of Ghazan Khan as a failing of the imitators of the *ortuy* merchants. In this way, thousands of horses were not sold in reality. However, behind their misdeeds was the fact that *ortuy* merchants used to sell many horses to the Il-khanid government in reality.

Djamāl al-Dīn's acquisition of government posts, the Kīsh merchants gained an advantage in trade with India and China. In that sense, we can comprehend the extent to which India was important as a stopping point for the trade between Islam and China. After the death of Taqī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān in A.H.702 (A.D.1302–03), his position and privileges under the Pāndiya dynasty were continued by his nephew and Djamāl al-Dīn's son, Malik Mu'azzam Sirādj al-Dīn.¹⁶ It is highly probable that Kīsh merchants continued to sell horses to the Il-khanid government along with the *ortuy* merchants because the lord of Kīsh, according to the *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, was also a leader of the *ortuy* merchants who directly traded with the Il-khanid dynasty.¹⁷

THE POSITION OF HORSES IN THE YUAN AND IL-KHANID TRADE

The Yuan and Il-khanid dynasties which were located at the eastern and western borders of Eurasia were connected by overland and sea routes. Both these dynasties were members of the Toluyid family yet had no territory adjoining each other but they had trade relations and exchanged envoys frequently. The flourishing exchanges between the two empires provided synergy to private trade, which also flourished. For instance, Ghazan Khan dispatched Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad, who was the successor to Djamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm – the lord of Kīsh and a leader of merchants – as an emissary to Yuan China. At the time of Aḥmad's departure, Ghazan entrusted to him capital from the treasury for the purposes of trading, and Kīsh merchants, including Djamāl al-Dīn, co-financed him.¹⁸ This envoy was the representative of both private trade with the participation of Kīsh merchants and international public trade because of the involvement of the Il-khanid government. Ghazan Khan's envoy carried with him such articles as gems, pearls, cloth made of gold and animals (like leopards, etc.). It is not known whether horses were included in these items of trade. Temūr Qayan of the Yuan reciprocated Ghazan Khan's gesture by dispatching Yang Shu,¹⁹ who came from a family of influential merchants, as an emissary to the Il-khanid court. Yang Shu carried out trade at Hormuz and returned to China with various local goods, which included "white horses, black dogs, amber, wine, and foreign salt."²⁰ It is worth noting that horses were I on this list. However, the horses that Yang Shu purchased were not the usual variety of horses – they were white ones. Thus, it can be said that these horses were very significant as articles for presentation to the Yuan court. Chinese merchants seldom sailed beyond the western reaches of the Indian Ocean in those times, and Chinese junks were rarely seen in the ports of Western India such as Qūlam, Fandaraina, and Kanbāyat.²¹ Unlike Chinese merchants, however, Kīsh merchants regularly conducted their trade with China via India; therefore, we can regard the goods that were brought by Fakhr al-Dīn to be similar to the exports that were popular in China.

Kīsh merchants had presumably stationed their agents in both China and India because – according to Ibn Ḥaḍjar al-ʿAsqalānī – Djamāl al-Dīn, the lord of Kīsh, once resided in China and acquired a fortune from trade there.²² When Ghazan Khan selected Djamāl al-Dīn's son Fakhr al-Dīn to be sent as an envoy to the Yuan government it was partly because the Il-khanid government aimed to use the trade network of Kīsh merchants in India and China.²³

The *wazīr* (prime minister) of the Il-khanid, Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī, similarly employed a network of merchants. His *Maktūbāt* (*Collection of letters*) states that he stationed these trade agents in India and Baṣrah and compelled merchants to send Indian goods to himself and his family.²⁴ According to the

¹⁶ Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 505-506; Waṣṣāf/Malik 3900, fol. 386r-v.

¹⁷ *Djāmi'*/Raushan; *Djāmi'*/Topkapı 1518.

¹⁸ Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 505-506; Waṣṣāf/Malik 3900, fols. 386v-387v; see also Kauz 2006, pp. 64-66.

¹⁹ Jinhuahuang/Sibu congkan, vol. 35, Songjiang Jiading-dengchu haiyun *qianhu Yangjun muzhimong* 松江嘉定等處海運千戶楊君墓誌銘 (Epitaph of Mr. Yang, a chiliarch of the maritime transport at Songjiang and Jiading provinces).

²⁰ Jinhuahuang/Sibu congkan, vol. 35.

²¹ See Yajima 1993, pp. 71-81, pp. 162-165.

²² Durar/Bairut, vol. 1, p. 40.

²³ See Yokkaichi 2006(a).

²⁴ *Maktūbāt/dānīshpazūh*, p. 151; pp. 167-168; p. 172; *Maktūbāt/Shafī'*, pp. 166-167; pp. 184-185; p. 197.

Maktūbāt, he also ordered a dispatch of goods from China.²⁵ This indicates that he also stationed merchants as his agents in China. The *Āthār wa Ahyā* – in which he noted down details regarding agricultural produce from all over the world – contains a considerable amount of information on Indian and Chinese plants and accounts of the trade that merchants conducted with these commodities.²⁶ In addition, it describes the process of administrative control that was imposed on monopoly products like tea.²⁷ Thus, we find that these merchants, who stayed in China and mainly dealt with the Yuan government, brought information and Chinese products to Rashīd al-Dīn. He is renowned as the editor of the *Djāmi‘ al-Tawārīkh*, which is a compilation of historical events from around the world, and the *Tansūkh Nāma*, which is a collection of Chinese works translated into Persian. Hence, it can be said that he was able to acquire information and knowledge from across the world – including China and India – merely by making use of the trade network he had set up. As mentioned above, India was a crucial trans-shipment station for Chinese exports to Iran, which was a great distance from China. India was thus of paramount importance for Rashīd al-Dīn’s trade network; a fact clearly demonstrated by his visiting India in person.²⁸

What position did horses occupy in the trade relations between the Yuan and Il-khanid dynasties? As already mentioned, India was the major market for horses from the Persian Gulf and Red Sea regions, not China. However, for the Islamic world, the export of horses to India was linked to trade with China; India held a very important position as a hub for trade between China and the Islamic world. It is quite likely that Chinese goods brought to India were further exported to western countries in exchange for horses exported from Islamic countries to India. In fact, some recently discovered material – the *Daftar al-Muẓaffarīya* (*Nūr al-Ma‘ārif fī Nuzum wa Qawānin wa a‘rāf al-Yaman*), which was dedicated to the Rasulid Sultān Malik al-Muẓaffar al-Yūsuf – indicates that Chinese goods were undoubtedly traded in exchange for horses. There is a mention of silver from China. Yajima Hikoichi, who focused on the horse trade in ‘Aden as described in the *Daftar al-Muẓaffarīya*, suggested that the horses imported by India were purchased with the payment of silver from China. Therefore, in order to ascertain whether Yajima’s theory is correct, it is necessary to review the circulation of silver within Eurasia and the Indian Ocean region.

HORSES AND THE CIRCULATION OF SILVER IN EURASIA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN REGION

Robert P. Blake once propounded a theory regarding the circulation of silver in the Islamic world.²⁹ His theory was based on the phenomenon of a silver shortage in the Islamic world, which began in the tenth century and ended after the thirteenth century. Blake makes the point that the outflow of silver from the east, down to the Mongol-Yuan period, solved the silver shortage in the Islamic world.³⁰ Otagi Matsuo further endorsed Blake’s theory by pointing out that from the Song and Liao periods to the Yuan period, silver flowed westward through the hands of Uighur merchants.³¹ In particular, the Uighur and *ortuγ* merchants during the Yuan period sustained a silver standard economy in North China,³² and they used to manage silver entrusted by Mongolian royal families as trading capital to be returned at a profit. Although Blake and Otagi only studied the flow of silver by land routes, it is reasonable to consider that silver was conveyed by sea after the Yuan period. Considering that the *ortuγ* merchants expanded their business to Nanhai (from the South China Sea to the Indian Ocean) when the Yuan dynasty conquered the Southern Song, it is not surprising that silver was carried to the Islamic world by sea. The Yuan government repeatedly imposed prohibitions on the export of gold and silver, which implies there was in fact an outward flow of gold and

²⁵ *Maktūbāt/dānīshpazhūh*, p. 172; *Maktūbāt/Shafī‘*, p. 191.

²⁶ Regarding to *Āthār wa Ahyā*, see Afshār 1368/1989, p. 13-45; Allsen 2001, pp. 117-122; Lambton 1999.

²⁷ *Āthār/Afshār*, pp. 86-88.

²⁸ In the *Maktūbāt-i Rashīdī*, there is a letter titled “a detailed letter on my position and my visit to India, written to Maulānā Ḳutb al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Shīrāzī from Mūltān city” (*Maktūbāt/dānīshpazhūh*, pp. 146–151; *Maktūbāt/Shafī‘*, pp. 159-68). According to Īrādī Afshār, there is another description in the *Tārīkh-i Yazd Dja‘fari*. See Afshār 1368/1989, p. 45.

²⁹ Blake 1937.

³⁰ Blake 1937, p. 314.

³¹ Otagi 1973, pp. 163-201.

³² Abe 1972.

silver. In reality, ingots of silver were found in the wreckage of *Nanhai-1* 南海一號's cargo off the coast of Guangdong 廣東.³³

The above mention is with regard to the situation prevalent in the eastern Indian Ocean, while the *Daftar al-Muḏaffarīya* deals with the situation in the western Indian Ocean. According to the *Daftar al-Muḏaffarīya*, Chinese silver was one of the articles imported from India to 'Aden, as described below:

In 'Aden, the silver of *laymas* (silver bullion?)³⁴ is usually brought by *sūliyān* (south Indian merchants) during the sailing season. The arrival of *sūliyān* at the port of 'Aden implies the arrival of silver from China, which is then transported to Ḥufār, al-Shihṛ, and many other places in 'Aden by *sūliyān*.³⁵

However, the *Daftar al-Muḏaffarīya* does not provide clear details regarding these *sūliyān* merchants from South India. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the merchants of Qūlam (Quilon), who were known as *sūliyān*, possessed immense wealth and property, and they conveyed goods in their own ships.³⁶ The *Daftar al-Muḏaffarīya* states that most of the merchants who purchased horses at the port of Aden were Indian shipmasters (*nākhudā*) and made payments in silver dirhams or in equal quantities of dirhams and silk.³⁷ Al-Shamrookh, who was the first to study the *Daftar al-Muḏaffarīya*, also examined these facts; however, he did not consider the export of horses to be associated with the import of silver.³⁸ One possible reason for this could be the absence of any clue in the *Daftar al-Muḏaffarīya* that directly connects the Indian shipmasters (*nākhudā*) who purchased horses with *sūliyān* who brought silver to the port of 'Aden. However, according to the agricultural almanac in the *Kitāb al-Tabshīra fī 'Ilm al-Nudjūm* that was compiled under the Sultan of the Rasulid al-Malik al-Afshār 'Umar Ibn Yūsuf, horse traders (*marākib al-khayl*) sailed in the following three sailing seasons: (1) *Sayalān* (*Sīlān*), (2) *Sūliyān*, and (3) *Tirmāh*.³⁹ *Sūliyān* (*Sīlān*) refers to the season in which the ships of the Sri Lankan merchants sailed. D. M. Varisco, a scholar of Yemeni history, confirmed that on the basis of Ibn Māḍjid's description, the merchandise that was exchanged for horses consisted of goods such as pearls, gems, ivory, silk and cinnamon.⁴⁰ *Sūliyān*, as its name indicates, implies the sailing season of *sūliyān*. Varisco's reference to the Yemeni almanacs reveals that *sūliyān activities* extended from Cape Camorin to the deltas of the Krishna and Godavari rivers in East India; moreover, the trade articles that were exchanged for horses comprised elephants, sapphires, moonstones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, onyx, emeralds, coral, cardamom, cloves, sandalwood, camphor oil and musk. *Tirmāh* refers to *tīr māh*, which is the name of the fourth solar month in Persian. The use of this word indicates that Persian merchants wielded a great influence on the trade between 'Aden and India. A point that should be noted is that the sailing season *sūliyān* accorded with the sailing season called the "monsoon of the horse," which began from the twentieth day of the eighth month. Although Varisco does not mention silver being exchanged for horses, from the *Daftar al-Muḏaffarīya* and other sources, it can be safely inferred that silver was used for this purpose in the trade between the Islamic world and India. For example, Marco Polo reported that in India, horses were imported and purchased with silver.⁴¹ He also explained that India imported foreign commodities including copper, cloth made of gold and taffeta, cloves, spikenard oil, gold, and silver; furthermore, he highlighted the fact that the great Manzi (China) was the major exporter of these items.⁴² However, S.D. Goitein, who has made a study of the trade in the western Indian Ocean between Cairo, 'Aden and India, pointed out that the Geniza documents revealed that silver could be conveyed from

³³ Ceramic Road 1993, p. 38, pl. 20.

³⁴ Yajima Hikoichi interpreted the meaning of *al-fidda al-laymās* as *al-fidda al-lamīsa* in Arabic; that is, he interpreted silver as metal. See Yajima 2006(a), p. 161, note 69.

³⁵ *Muḏaffarīya/Djāzim*, vol. 1, p. 496.

³⁶ Baṭṭūṭa/Sanguinetti, t. 4, pp. 99-100; Baṭṭūṭa/Yajima, vol. 6, p. 135, p. 188, n.188; Yajima 2006(a), p. 578.

³⁷ *Muḏaffarīya/Djāzim*, vol. 1, pp. 504-505; al-Shamrookh 1996, pp. 301-302; Yajima 2006(a), pp. 581-584.

³⁸ Al-Shamrookh 1996, p. 196.

³⁹ Varisco 1994, pp. 224-231; Yajima 2006(a), pp. 575-576.

⁴⁰ Varisco 1994, p. 229.

⁴¹ Marco Polo/Benedetto, p. 25, p. 213; Marco Polo/Ramusio, p. 101, p. 291.

⁴² Marco Polo/Benedetto, p. 199, p. 201; Marco Polo/Ramusio, p. 281.

India to ‘Aden, but not vice versa.⁴³ Due to the above, there is a strong possibility that the silver brought to ‘Aden from India and used to purchase horses was Chinese silver.

As shown by the import list of ‘Aden in the *Daftar al-Muẓaffariya*, Kīsh, Mecca and India accounted for two-thirds of the embarkation points, with Kīsh and India in particular accounting for a third. There is considerable lack of clarity regarding the competitive and interdependent relationship between the two main commercial routes, namely, the Persian Gulf route centered on Kīsh and Hormuz and the Red Sea route centered on ‘Aden, D̲jidda (Mecca) and ‘Aidāb (Egypt). This lack of clarity also extends to the relationship between the *ortuy* merchants in the Persian Gulf region and the *kārimī* merchants in the Red Sea region. However, the import list for ‘Aden reveals that ‘Aden had a trilateral trade relationship with Kīsh and India, and Kīsh exerted a strong influence on goods exported by India. The *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf* also mentions that Kīsh merchants, including D̲jamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, were able to trade on a priority basis commodities that were brought from China to India.⁴⁴

The *Daftar al-Muẓaffariya* names Taḳī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭībī as one of the leading importers in India.⁴⁵ He was a brother of D̲jamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the lord of Kīsh. Ibn Baṭṭūta described Qūlam (Quilon) in India, which was a base for *sūliyān*, thus: the leader of the Muslims in this city is Muḥammad, the chief of the port (*shāh bandar*), who has a honorable brother named Taḳī al-Dīn.⁴⁶ As mentioned above, Taḳī al-Dīn had been appointed to government posts by the emperor of the kingdom of Pāndiya in South India, and was in a position to govern the import of a large number of horses to India every year.⁴⁷ This implies that the Kīsh merchants had enormous influence over trade with China via India as well as over the trilateral trade between India, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea region.⁴⁸

CONCLUSION

Consequently, the structure of the horse-silver trade between China and the Islamic world is summarized as follows:

1. Chinese silver flowed out to the Persian Gulf and Red Sea regions via India. Silver or silk was exchanged for horses exported from Islamic countries; thus, the horse trade between India and Islam played an important role in the accumulation of silver in the Islamic economy.
2. The number of Arabian horses exported to China via India was considerably smaller than the number of horses exported to India. Therefore, it appears that commodities of Indian origin, including gemstones, perfume materials and spices, were traded for Chinese silver.
3. Merchants in the Persian Gulf region, including Kīsh, had tremendous influence over the export of horses from Islamic countries, and *sūliyān* played the principal role in the export of silver from India to Islamic countries. It is possible that these merchants and *sūliyān* were closely connected and shared a common background – their commercial base of Qūlam (Quilon), an emporium on the western Indian Ocean.
4. In trade via the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf route and the Red Sea route were rather interconnected. The Persian Gulf, the Red Sea region and India formed a trilateral trade relationship with horses and silver as the major commodities.

⁴³ Goitein 1954, p. 188.

⁴⁴ Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 302-303; Waṣṣāf/Malik 3900, fol. 220r.

⁴⁵ Muẓaffariya/D̲jāzim, vol. 1, p. 515, p. 519.

⁴⁶ Baṭṭūta/Sanguinetti, pp. 99-100.

⁴⁷ Taḳī al-Dīn’s brother was D̲jamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, not Muḥammad; however, their father’s name was Muḥammad, so they were also referred to as “Ibn Muḥammad.” Therefore, it is very likely that Muḥammad, who was mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūta, was a reference to his brother, Ibrāhīm al-Ṭībī. For the genealogy of the al-Ṭībī family (al-Sawāmīlī family), see Aubin 1953.

⁴⁸ Only Kīsh were able to perpetually dominate over the trade that was conducted along the Indian Ocean. The name of Kīsh frequently appears in the *Daftar al-Muẓaffariya* because they dominated over most of the areas in the Persian Gulf, including those controlled by Hormuz. However, after the mid-fourteenth century, Hormuz recovered his power and overwhelmed Kīsh. Following this, Hormuz operated in the same way as Kīsh in the trilateral trade that was conducted between India, the Persian Gulf region, and the Red Sea region.

Arabian horses did not become the principal commodity for China; however, the export of horses to India was indispensable for the Islamic world in procuring silver from China via India. Thus, similar to the silk-horse trade or tea-horse trade under the Chinese dynasties,⁴⁹ it can be claimed that there existed an indirect “silver-horse trade”.

As regards the circulation of silver, it is very likely that the Uighur and *ortuḡ* merchants who managed silver as trade capital played an important role in China’s export of silver. However, what information do we have on the circulation of silver in Iran? Both gold *dīnār* that were minted under the Mongol rule and silver *dīnār* were found in Iran; it is apparent from this that the Il-khanid government adopted the gold-silver *dīnār* system for their coinage.⁵⁰ This suggests that *ortuḡ* merchants in Iran were also entrusted with silver by the blood royals of the Mongols under the Il-khanid dynasty. As we have seen, horses were sold not only to India but also to the Il-khanid government. Therefore, it is highly probable that silver was circulated in exchange for horses within Iran, particularly in Azarbaijan and the Persian Gulf and Red Sea regions. In this paper, I have focused on the horse trade that was conducted between regions in the western Indian Ocean. However, *ortuḡ* merchants were also associated with trade that occurred in the inland regions. Therefore, it is necessary to compare *ortuḡ* merchants’ activities under the Il-khanid government with those under the Yuan. The *Daftar al-Muḏaffarīya* describes silk, porcelain and other articles as imports from China. A further discussion should be conducted on the relation between these articles and silver. Silk, especially, was exchanged along with silver as payment for horses. An analysis of the use of these items could lead to a good understanding of the structure of trade around Eurasia and the regions surrounding the Indian Ocean. The *Daftar al-Muḏaffarīya* offers good scope for such study. Analyzing each article, export port, relay port, and the correlation between them will serve to clarify the structure of multilateral trade between Mecca, Egypt, Syria, Iran, East Africa, Southeast Asia and China around a trilateral trade area, as well as the structure of trilateral trade between India, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea region. Such an analysis has yet to be conducted.

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⁴⁹ There are numerous studies regarding “tea–horse trade,” including Wang Xiaoyin 2004, which do not require a full explanation in this paper. For “silk–horse trade,” see studies by Matsuda Hisao.

⁵⁰ With regard to the silver *dīnār* system, J. M. Smith Jr. referred to its adoption under the Il-khanid dynasty. See Smith Jr. 1969.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- BEFEO*: Bulletin del'Ecole francaise d'Extreme-Orient
HJAS: Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
JA: Journal Asiatique
JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JESHO: Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient

The Mongols and Their Magic Horses: Some Remarks on the Role of the Horse in Mongol Epic Tales

Veronika VEIT¹

I

The theft of horses may well be said to have initiated Činggis Khan's victorious advance as a conqueror!

According to the "Secret History" of the Mongols, the widow Hoelun and her sons, outcast by their clan, led a life of poverty and privation. One day, their only valuable possession, eight horses, were stolen – except one, a short-tailed, short-haired chestnut, that had been taken out by Belgütei marmot-hunting.² Upon his return, the oldest of the brothers, Temüjin, got on the chestnut and went off in pursuit of the robbers, "following the tracks in the grass", as our text continues. On his way, he met Boyurči who joined him, saying: "Friend, you came to me in great trouble, but men's troubles are the same for all. I will be your companion."³ Together, at the risk of their lives, the two brave youths then won the horses back. In this way, Boyurči became Činggis Khan's first and most faithful companion;⁴ what follows is history.

To a Mongol, horses are neither just valued possessions nor mere status-symbols, they can quite literally tip the balance between life or death in the steppe. "The very basis of Mongol society is mobility, and all aspects of nomadic livelihood – diet, dress, dwelling, and so on – are conditioned by or subordinated to this mobility,"⁵ as Jagchid states. Hence, horses are not only the most important means of transportation in the steppe, they are, moreover, indispensable, in war and peace, when fighting or escaping, when travelling, hunting or herding. Mares provide milk, on rare occasions horse-meat is eaten, and Mongol horses, not least, constitute a much desired object of trade, particularly to China.⁶

Mongol tradition considers horses the first of the five categories of domestic animals, the 'tabun qosiyun mal' – the others being camels, horned cattle, sheep and goats. The importance of the horse in Mongol society finds a further confirmation in proverbs and a specialized vocabulary, with its many terms for a horse's colour, size, age and generation. To illustrate it with just a few examples: "The greatest misfortune is for one to lose his father while he is young or his horse during a journey."⁷ "When travelling, always consider your horse's provisions first."⁸ As to colours, we find: čooqor (horse with small spots); qaliun (yellowish-white with black tail and mane); saartai (crescent on forehead); qar-a köke (greyish-white, white-tailed).⁹ Age, for instance, is defined as: daaga (two-year-old); šüdleng (three-year-old); külüg (charger).¹⁰

Viewed from the outside, by their neighbours and other non-Mongol peoples, the Mongols and their horses, in the past, were synonymous with a terrifying, devastating "storm", e. g. the "Mongolensturm" of 13th century Europe, or the description in the Yüan-shih, the history of the Mongol dynasty in China: "Yüan arose in the northern area. By nature they are good at riding and archery. Therefore they took possession of the world through this advantage of bow and horse."¹¹ Indeed, an even older Chinese dictum, "Ruling from

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² The Secret History of the Mongols I (2004), § 90, pp. 26-27.

³ Secret History, p. 27.

⁴ Cf. Boyurči's reward in 1206: Secret History, § 205, pp. 137-138.

⁵ Jagchid/Hyer (1979), p. 56.

⁶ Jagchid/Hyer, p. 22.

⁷ Jagchid/Hyer, p. 22.

⁸ Heissig, Wort aus tausend Jahren, p. 49.

⁹ Klér (1947), p. 18; cf. also note 30) of this paper.

¹⁰ Schubert (1971), p. 62.

¹¹ Jagchid/Bawden (1965), p. 246.

Horseback", dating from the period of the Han dynasty,¹² has since been coined as a political term to delineate the fleeting character of steppe-nomadic/Mongol rule altogether.

Hence for centuries, the relationship between the sedentary civilizations and the horse-riding peoples of Central Asia was dominated by the fundamental difference in their cultural outlook, especially in view of the latter's clan-structured society, an economy based on mobile nomadic pastoralism and the ideal of a leader who is a heroic warrior, blessed by "Heaven" with charisma and military fortune.

II

It is therefore not really surprising that horses - apart from their necessity in daily life - should also play a central role in other spheres of Mongolian culture, to witness: in the old religion of the Mongols, commonly called Shamanism, it was an imaginary horse which took the Shaman in a trance on his journey to the other world; horses, moreover, were the sacrificial animals to the ancestral and shamanic spirits.¹³

According to the Secret History (§141), when the Mongol tribes raised Jamuqa as Khan, they killed a stallion and a mare by breaking their backs, in order to confirm the oath of friendship; similarly, the sacrifice of a white horse was made to Heaven (and that of a black ox to Earth) in conclusion of the formal alliances between the Mongols and the Manchus in the early 17th century.¹⁴

Horse sacrifices, moreover, also formed a part in funerary practices, customary of old in Central Asia in general as well as among the Mongols in particular.¹⁵ Horses, finally, figure in many Mongol songs,¹⁶ legends¹⁷ and fairy-tales¹⁸ – but most significant, perhaps, is the part they play in the Mongols' epic poetry which may well be termed as the characteristic literary genre of a people who glorify military adventure and heroic personal achievement. The horse is here the hero's friend and companion, equal to himself; it is his faithful comrade and wise counsellor, to whom he turns for advice and support. The horse is able to use the human language, to foresee events, to forewarn of dangers, to perform magic; it is, in fact, the second heroic figure, the indispensable part of the "winning team"! Without his horse, the hero would never reach his destination, never defeat the evil mangus (an ogre-like creature), and never win the bride. Such a close, if not complementary, relationship is expressed in Mongol epics through a number of common features in order to emphasize the bond between the two protagonists. One is the time and circumstance of the hero's and his horse's birth, described in the following passage taken from the Khalkha-epic "Xögsin Luu Mergen": (The old horsemaster addressing the hero) "Nachdem jene Stute angekommen war, hütete ich sie, [jedoch wurde von ihr] in zehn Jahren kein einziges Fohlen geboren, und sie blieb fruchtlos. Als es hieß, dass du von deiner Mutter geboren warst, gebar [die Stute] in jenem Jahr ein Fohlen. In demselben Augenblick, als du in der Dunkelheit der Morgendämmerung auf der Südseite des Berges [...] im meeresweissen Palast von deiner Mutter geboren wurdest, fohlte auch die gelbe Stute. [...] Es wurde ein schönes, männliches, schwarzes Fohlen geboren. Ohne sich auf den Boden zu legen, fiel es stehend heraus, machte drei Sprünge um seine Mutter herum, saugte dreimal an jeder der beiden Zitzen, und seit der Zeit habe ich nie mehr gesehen, dass es hinter seiner Mutter hergegangen wäre."¹⁹

Another common feature is the hero's and the horse's predestination for one another, which the following verses taken from the western Mongol epic "Bum Erdeni" give evidence of:

¹² Cf. de Rachewiltz (1993), pp. 248-49: "Even though an empire may be conquered on horseback, it could not be administered on horseback."

¹³ Veit (1985), pp. 82-83.

¹⁴ Veit (1985), pp. 84-85.

¹⁵ Veit (1985), pp. 83-84.

¹⁶ Although we dispose of a number of Mongolian anthologies, few of the songs are accessible in translation; cf., for instance, Klér (1947), pp. 19-21.

¹⁷ The most touching of these relates the origin of the Mongolian horse-headed fiddle; cf. Heissig (1963), pp. 31-34. See also the concluding paragraph of this paper.

¹⁸ Horses as 'heroes' of Mongolian fairy-tales are mostly found in the categories of "Tiernmärchen" and "Zaubermärchen"; cf. Taube (2004).

¹⁹ Mongolische Epen II (1975), pp. 73-74.

Geboren, einem Helden Streitross zu sein,
 Geboren, in weiter Ferne ein Fohlen zu sein,
 Geboren, mir in sanfter Jugend ein jüngerer Bruder zu sein,
 Geboren, in fremder Ferne ein Freund zu sein,
 Geboren, gekommen, mir vor hartem Feind ein jüngerer Bruder zu sein!²⁰

A third point is the hero's exclusive ability to call and catch his steed – as will be explained and illustrated by a quotation later on.

Most touchingly, however, do the following passages express the special bond between the two faithful friends:

[...] und er sah [den Jungen] die acht Markknochen [des Pferdes] zusammenbinden und sich auf den Rücken legen mit den Worten, dass man die Knochen seines Pferdes nicht in einem fremden Land fortwirft.²¹

Even when on the point of death, the defeated evil Khan pleads with the hero:

Töte nicht mein braunscheckiges Pferd!
 Es ist mir teurer als mein eigenes Leben.
 Es ist ein starkes und gutes Pferd,
 [gerade] zum Reiten für einen tapferen Mann [geeignet].²²

The hero kills the horse nonetheless, but makes it a sacrifice to Khormusta Tngri. In the epic tradition of the Altai-Turks the common fate of the hero and his horse culminates in the following statement: "Après la mort, nous os seront ensemble, tant que nous sommes vivants, notre vie est commune."²³

The fascinating and in all its aspects rather complex question of Mongol epic tales was the subject of an international as well as interdisciplinary research project within the former "Sonderforschungsbereich 12" [Special Research Unit], in operation from 1969 until 1988 at Bonn University, under the responsibility of the late Mongolist scholar Walther Heissig. The results were published in a series of monographs and collected papers, among them thirteen volumes of Mongol epics in translation.²⁴ Some of my own contributions to the project were centred on the role of the horse and are therefore made use of in the present paper.

Generally speaking, Mongolian epic tales are a treasure house preserving a variety of cultural phenomena – be they of material, folkloristic, customary or literary origin – not least because of the exclusively oral transmission, long before the introduction of a writing system for the Mongolian language.²⁵ When we therefore attempt an analysis of the role of the horse in Mongol epic poetry, it is not really remarkable to note that even its magic qualities have their roots in the natural conditions of the steppe-nomads' steeds. It is, in fact, both, the natural and the supernatural features, which combine in making up the magic power of the hero's horse. To what extent a classification of these features could eventually contribute to a more detailed literary analysis, for instance concerning questions such as what is to be defined as 'topos', 'motive', 'narrative element', or what is of autochthonous / foreign origin, still remains an open task – although some encouraging results of research in this respect are already on hand.²⁶

In the present context, or, to remain in the appropriate poetic picture, on our journey into the magic world of the "baatarlag morin" – the hero-horse - we will therefore travel along two roads: one is the natural (realistic) road, the other is the supernatural (magic) one.

Accordingly, the following features are classified 'natural': catching, body and colour, saddle and bridle, race-training. I will begin with a brief introduction, respectively, to conditions of daily life, and then

²⁰ Heissig, *Literaturgeschichte I*, p. 395.

²¹ *Mongolische Epen V* (1977), taken from the west Mongolian Jangar epic, p. 31.

²² *Mongolische Epen III* (1975), taken from the Khalkha epic Argil Tsagaan Öwgön, p. 90.

²³ Veit (1985), p. 81.

²⁴ In the series "Asiatische Forschungen" (W. Heissig, editor-in-chief), Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1979–1992) the subject of the hero-horse bond in Turkish and Mongolian epics has also been dealt with in exemplary fashion by R. S. Lipec (1984).

²⁵ Cf. for instance the following articles by Heissig (1980) and (1992); Veit (1987).

²⁶ Cf. for instance Heissig's heuristic articles (1979a); (1979b); (1983a).

illustrate these by selected corresponding poetic passages from the epics. Throughout these we note a certain, intended, alienation effect by the use of the literary styles of hyperbole and parallelism, both typical features of Mongol epic poetry.²⁷

1) Catching

Mongol horses live in groups of their own choosing, twenty to thirty mares to one stallion; the geldings usually join in a separate herd. Horses needed for riding are selected at the age of three, caught with an 'urga', or pole-lasso. When a stallion, he is castrated, usually at the age of two, and then trained.²⁸

In the words of the Khalkha-epic "Khürel Khan":

[The hero's horse] "is not to be caught with a horse-pole, but is to be caught with skilled cunning. It is not to be caught with a strap, but is to be caught with learned cunning. [...] Three men went to the edge of the herd, fluttered their narrow sleeves, spread out their short skirts, bent their round knees, waved and called to it, saying: 'If you are a fine steed for riding, to be a mount for Gūn-galuu Baatar, come to the rimmed silver bridle!'"²⁹

2) Body and Colour

The criteria according to which a horse is selected for breeding or riding follow certain norms. These norms are mostly traditional, but are also found in specialized handbooks, as early as the 18th century, the well-known 'Morin-u sinji', or characteristics of a good horse.³⁰ The Mongolian language has many terms for size, age, and specially colours of a horse. White is reserved for ritual purposes, as we have seen, whereas in daily life Mongols prefer bays, greys, dapple-greys, chestnuts and blacks.³¹

In epic tales, horse-colours are differentiated, according to whom the animal belongs: the hero or his enemy – be he a rival khan or a mangus; for instance: grey, dark-brown, chestnut or bay with black mane and tail, white piebald on dark background – positive (hero); tiger-piebald, whitish bay, white spot on cornea – negative (enemy).³²

Body- and colour-descriptions follow the rules of Mongolian ceremonial poetry, in this instance the category of 'morin-u mayṭayal' or horse-praises.³³ In the southern Mongolian epic "Siregetü-yin Mergen Khan" we read:

Sein Pferd aber, in der Mitte der Herde,
An der Spitze der Wallache,
Mit einem Hundert-Klafter-Leib,
Mit einer Gestalt gleich einem Elephanten,
Mit Fesseln gleich der Steppenantilope,
Mit einem Sechs-Klafter-Nacken,
Mit Neun-Spannen-Ohren,
Mit klaren Sternenaugen,
Mit lockig-dichter Mähne,
Mit dichtem, spielendem Schweif ...³⁴

3) Saddle and Bridle³⁵

The traditional Mongolian saddle is made of wood, high-rimmed in front, flat at the back, leather-covered and skilfully decorated, likewise the bridle, even the stirrups are generally skilfully forged – in epic tales often referred to as "sun and moon".³⁶ In the western Mongolian epic "Bum Erdeni" we read:

Den baumwollweissen Sattelfilz,

²⁷ Poppe (1958) and (1962).

²⁸ Veit (1985), p. 64.

²⁹ Mongolische Epen X (1982), p. 87-89.

³⁰ Veit (1985), pp. 74-75.

³¹ Cf. Veit (1985), p. 65; also notes 8) and 9) of this paper.

³² Veit (1985), p. 65.

³³ Heissig, Mongolische Literatur II, pp. 456-460; Veit (1985), pp. 72-74.

³⁴ Mongolische Epen VII (1977), p. 13.

³⁵ A detailed description is found in: Chinesische Gesandtenberichte/Olbricht/Pinks (1980), p. 171, referring to the 13th century.

³⁶ For instance in: Epen VII (1977), p. 19.

Aus der Wolle von Schafen und Lämmern,
 In Schichten, ohne Fehl gemacht,
 Aus der Wolle von Junglamm und Schaf
 In sehr schönen Lagen gewalkt, -
 Ihn nahm er, legte ihn auf der hohen Kruppe entlang.
 Den amboss-schwarzen Sattel,
 Gemacht, indem Elephantenbein gespalten,
 Gefertigt, indem eine Astgabel aus Sandelholz gebogen,
 Ihn, den vierzig Mann darauf reitend nicht durchdrücken,
 Ihn legte er schiebend und dagegenstemmend auf.³⁷

4) Race-training

Conditioning a horse for a long journey or a race requires a strict programme of feeding, tying up, sweating and resting, practised to this very day.³⁸ Striking similarities as to such a conditioning can, incidentally, also be found in the “Hippologia Hethitica” – the Hittites being another well-known people famous for their horse-lore!³⁹ In the epic of “Siregetü-yin Mergen Khan”, the process is put into the following verses:

Zur weiten Reise sich aufzumachen,
 Hielt er, die Finger zählend umbiegend, kurz,
 Sein schilfbraunes Pferd;
 Er begann, die Tage zählend, es anzubinden:
 Einen Tag band er es an,
 Da wurde sein dünnes Fleisch schlank.
 Zwei Tage band er es an,
 Da wurde sein Innenschenkel schlank.
 Drei Tage band er es an,
 Da wurden seine Schenkel schlank.
 Vier Tage band er es an,
 Da wurden seine Oberschenkel schlank.
 Fünf Tage band er es an,
 Da wurde sein fettes Fleisch mager.
 Sechs Tage band er es an,
 Da wurde sein Biss fest.
 Sieben Tage band er es an,
 Da wurde sein Fleisch unterm Sattelfilz fest.
 Acht Tage band er es an,
 Da wurde sein schmales Fleisch schlank.
 Neun Tage band er es an,
 Da wurde sein junges Fleisch schlank.
 Zehn Tage band er es an,
 Da wurde sein buntes Fleisch schlank.
 Es urinierte soviel wie eine Dattelpflaume,
 Es apfelte so groß wie Schafsköttel.⁴⁰

Having conditioned our horse in this way for the heroic exploits, metaphorically speaking, we now take the second road of our journey, leading us to the supernatural, or magic, qualities of the hero's steed. The characteristic features in this context include the use of the human language, exceptional wisdom, magic abilities, and the power to overcome the limits of time and space.

5) Human language

The fact that horses in epic tales are generally able to speak, is a classic topos, according to Hatto.⁴¹

³⁷ Heissig, Literaturgeschichte I, p. 396.

³⁸ Veit (1985), p. 71.

³⁹ Kammenhuber (1961), pp. 233-313.

⁴⁰ Epen VII (1977), p. 17.

⁴¹ Hatto (1982), p. 186.

The Mongol hero's horse not only talks, it is, moreover, considerably wiser than its human counterpart, besides being gifted with foresight. A number of passages illustrate this point in quite a touching, if not amusing, fashion. To quote a passage from "Siregetü-yin Mergen Khan":

An einem Tag in der Zukunft, der noch kommen wird,
An einem Morgen in späterer Zeit, der noch werden wird,
Zu einer Zeit, da meine Kraft erschöpft ist,
Zu einer Stunde, da meine Knochen schwer werden,
Wo wird sie sein, meine Freundin, meine Gefährtin,
Zusammenzugeben, was zerrissen und brüchig?
Von meinem Pferd will ich's erfahren!⁴²

The hero's frequently limited outlook, not to say occasional dim wit, is commented upon by his horse as follows: "You are the seed of man, with no hair on your face, but are you less than a beast with hair on its face?"⁴³ Or: "Wie bist du doch gedankenlos, wenn du auch ein tapferer Mann bist! Wie bist du doch unbesonnen, wenn du auch ein schöner Mensch bist!" – as we read in the Khalkha-epic "Xögsin Luu Mergen."⁴⁴

6) Magic Abilities

More than once the hero is rescued by his horse's magic abilities, as Mongols in real life, too, often were – episodes they never tire of relating!

In epic tales we find, among many such instances, the following: The hero's horse turns itself into a lame, scabby, bleary-eyed foal in order to deceive its competitors in the race, so that the hero will win.⁴⁵

During the fight with the evil mangus, the horse blows black fog from its nostrils so as to confuse the opponent's aim; the hero, therefore, remains victorious.⁴⁶ When the fifteen-headed black mangus' horse turns into a speckled milvine in the course of the single combat, the hero's horse turns into a brown eagle, catches the milvine and gives it to the hero to eat, whereupon he wins.⁴⁷ When the hero is poisoned by two giant yellow bees during a fight, his horse turns into a five-coloured rainbow, ascends to Heaven in this guise, and from Khormusta Tngri brings rescue to the hero.⁴⁸

7) Time and Space

Last but not least, we come to perhaps the most remarkable of the supernatural qualities of the heroic horse, the ability to overcome the limits of time and space. Of the many instances of such a characteristic magic journey in Mongol epic tales I have chosen one from the Khalkha epic "Khürel Khan":

[Riding his horse, the hero] "took the edge of the blue sky,
He took the border of the crusted golden earth,
He made the dusty road twinkle,
He made the hills and passes flash by.
He reduced a year's journey into a month.
He reduced a month's journey to twenty-four hours.
He reduced a twenty-four hours' journey into a day.
He reduced a day's journey to the shadow of a grass-stalk."⁴⁹

In this context one is tempted to see parallels to the old legends of 'winged-horses', apart from the classic shamanist concept of breaking through the level of the human world during the ecstatic journey to the world

⁴² Epen VII (1977), p. 11.

⁴³ Epen X (1982), p. 15.

⁴⁴ Mongolischen Epen II (1975), p. 58.

⁴⁵ Epen VII (1977), pp. 28-29.

⁴⁶ Epen II (1975), p. 84.

⁴⁷ Epen II (1975), pp. 86-87.

⁴⁸ Epen II (1975), pp. 89-91. Cf. also Heissig (1981), pp. 79-100.

⁴⁹ Epen X (1982), p. 95.

of the spirits. It is undertaken, as we have mentioned before, with the help of an imaginary horse, symbolized in the shaman's stick, which often has a small horse's head and diminutive stirrups.⁵⁰

III

To conclude our brief excursion to the world of the "Magic Horses of the Mongols", I would like to quote a passage from a legend recorded by Haslund-Christensen during Hedin's last great journey, the Sino-Swedish expedition of 1927–35. In this legend from Čakhar, the magic quality of the Mongol horse – be the level realistic or supernatural, heroic or poetic – is transformed into a touching tribute to the horse's place in the life and culture of the Mongolian people. I give a summary of the last paragraph of Haslund-Christensen's text:⁵¹

The Star-prince's steed, whose small folded wings behind each of his legs had been cut off to prevent the prince from returning to the sky, so that they both fell down in a great desolate desert, where the horse sank to the ground and expired. In despair over the loss of his marvellous steed, and persuaded he would now never again be able to return either to his star or to his beloved girl, both so far away that they could not be reached by an ordinary horse. Tears then fell from the prince's eyes, and a miracle took place: the dead horse was transformed into the first "khil-khuur", an instrument ornamented on top with his horse's head; its mane- and tail-hair was changed into sounding strings. The prince, from then on, became a wandering bard; his moving songs entranced the people so much that they made copies of the khil-khuur, playing songs inspired by what they had heard.

This, the legend concludes, is why the most dearly loved instrument of the Mongols is still decorated with "Jönung Khara Morin's" – the Star-prince's steed's – head; and this is also why their songs, or the best and oldest of them, are melancholy strains that sing of horses, of love, and of distant, unattainable stars. Indeed, the Mongols say, when the last khil-khuur, or horse-headed violin, disappears, the old Mongol music will become mute.

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⁵⁰ Heissig (1970), 329; Heissig (1983b), concerning the question of 'winged horses' see pp. 463-64; Veit (1985), pp. 79-80.

⁵¹ Haslund-Christensen (1943), pp. 36-37.

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Der Indische Ozean, Südostasien und die maritime Welt
The Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia, and the Maritime World

On Horses and Chariots in Ancient Indian and Iranian Personal Names

Velizar SADOVSKI¹

1. Ever since its very early years, historical and comparative linguistics has been concerned with the question of possible ‘synergetic effects’ between archaeological research and linguistic reconstruction. The nineteenth-century positivism tried hard to maintain the belief that the combination of ‘Sprachwissenschaft’ and ‘Ur-Geschichte’ may help us reconstruct not only an ‘Ur-Sprache’ but also an ‘Ur-Heimat’,² not only a ‘proto-language’ but also the ‘proto-homeland’ of Indo-Europeans. And the stylization e.g. of Heinrich Schliemann as the one who, just by reading the poems of Homer, was able to discover two of the most important archaeological sites of Antiquity, Troy and Mycenae, has been pouring fuel into the fire of such ambitions up to present day. But to which extent is it legitimate to try to see the *realia* behind the *nomina*, and is it really possible to find the things behind the concepts on the material of ancient poetical texts?

1.1. In the evolution of Indo-Iranian philology, we have been seeing surprisingly many indications that make it possible to enlarge our knowledge by means of an investigation policy “of little steps” based on a complex method of matching intrinsic evidence of Aryan literary texts about the surrounding reality of their authors against external data of archaeology or ethnography. So, a series of works published after the appearance of the multi-volumed *Grundriß der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* and *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie* – like the ones of the Vedic house by Louis RENOU (1939) or of sacrificial utensils in Veda by RAGHU VIRA (1934) – and especially publications appearing in the last four decades of the twentieth century, show clearly how far the analysis of Aryan ritual texts could bring us in this regard. To the last group of works, one should count the analysis of testimonies about ships and boats by Konrad KLAUS (1989), the account of the rôle of rice and barley in the Vedic ritual by Shingo EINO (1988), as well as team enterprises like the one of the University of California at Berkeley about the Vedic fire altar (STAAL 1983: vols. 1–2), based on the analysis of ritual sūtras and of terrain research into the Nambudiri sect in Kerala. We have to emphasize, above all, a series of works written by Wilhelm RAU between the late fifties and early nineties about state and society in Ancient India (RAU 1957), as well as about particular technological and economic areas in Vedic India such as pottery and ceramics (RAU 1972), (production of) metal and metal tools (1974), or various plaiting techniques (RAU 1971); on the Old Indian town cf. SCHLINGLOFF 1969. However, we can also see how easily we can touch the limits of material knowledge based on a very restricted, genre-specific tradition³ – and how the “little steps” sometimes turn out to be smaller than we would like them to be:⁴ It was the same RAU who, in 1975, gave a lecture at the Freiburg Congress of the German Oriental Society under the somewhat provocative title ‘*Ist vedische Archäologie möglich?*’ (published as RAU 1977) – showing how, in spite of doubtless achievements, many of the crucial issues of socio-

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² For a bibliography up to 2000 regarding the points of intersection between linguistics and “Altertumswissenschaft” *sensu lato*, see RAULWING 2000: 141–206 and SCHMITT 2000b: 403–404 (with an analysis from linguistic perspective on pp. 395–399, “§ 4: Herkunftsgebiet (sog. Urheimat) der I[n]d[o]g[ermanen].. Ausgliederung der i[n]d[o]g[ermanischen]. Sprachen”), cf. also the literature in HÄUSLER 2000: 407–408 (archaeological aspects) and see ZIMMER 2002 and 2003, with surveys of publications which appeared in the second half of the 20th century with relevance to (Proto-)Indo-European (= [P]IE) material and spiritual culture.

³ With regard to constituents and routines of Indian and Iranian ritual culture, cf. terminological dictionaries like RENOU 1954 and MYLIUS 1995 (concerning the Veda) as well as the presentation, by KOTWAL – BOYD 1991, of Avestan liturgy in its development up to the present day.

⁴ One only has to think of the manifold ambitions to project the data of “Pre-Indo-Aryan” cultures like Harappa on the background of extant Vedic texts.

economic history, of “linguistic palaeontology”⁵ or of the history of technology still remain open. This general question is valid also for the specific situation of Indo-Iranian chariots, wagons, carts, and horses, and its answer depends to a large extent on the philological and hermeneutic assessment of literary monuments.

1.2. I have been invited by the convenors of our conference to give an account of the oldest personal names⁶ of Veda and Avesta⁷ that contain words of ‘horse’ and ‘chariot’ – in the sense of the main thematic field of the symposium – and, if possible, to focus on some specifically economic implications of these linguistic data about the role of horses in ancient Indian and Iranian traditions. It goes without saying that these two requests are only partially compatible with one another: The first task, to show the traces of Old Indian and Old Iranian words in the onomastic systems of both language groups, has a well-defined scope and clear constraints, while the second one, to find immediate economic implications out of this lexical material, depends on the general question of how far it is possible to evaluate linguistic data for the purposes of exploring social and economic history in a more than cursory⁸ way. In the case of the oldest Indo-Iranian texts, such possibilities remain, as common sense could easily realize, rather limited. Indeed, the poetic and ritual character of the Veda and Avesta, our main and earliest sources of the two sister-languages, enables the researchers only to interpretations that have to remain modest and well-differentiated: the most ancient monuments of religious, hymnic poetry, like the *R̥gveda-Saṃhitā* (RV) and the hymns of Avesta, operate with such terms mostly within a cultic, religious framework. As a tendency, whenever they speak of objects of (surrounding) ‘material culture’, the poets presuppose that the audience has already knowledge of their utilitarian aspects, and include the *realia* mostly on a very abstract, often only metaphorical⁹ level of meaning, on which the connections to human reality are often of a vaguely-associative nature. Thus, “deciphering” such messages frequently becomes to an equality of more than one variables, in which not only the profound religious sense can escape to exoteric recipients but also the real value of the objects of similes or metaphors could largely remain questionable for modern readers. And it is well-known that even in the subsequent periods, in monuments of exegetical literature like the Vedic *Brāhmaṇas* as well as the *Āraṇyakas* and *Upaniṣads*, the interpretations of these poetical texts are, to a large extent, of mystic,

⁵ As a part of a general “Altertumskunde”, as defined in (German) Classical Philology and applied in 19th century Indian studies e.g. in the pioneer monograph by LASSEN 1867. On the concept of ‘linguistic palaeontology’ concerning (Proto-)Indo-European see recently RAULWING 2000: 25ff.; ZIMMER 1990: 12 (cf. also MEID 1994: 53f.); RAULWING 1998: 524 with fn. 13; 530f.

⁶ The standard compendia remain, for Old Indian, GUBLER 1903, HILKA 1910, SÖRENSEN 1904–25, VAN VELZE 1938, and PNRV, cf. SCHMITT 2000a: 67ff.; 87ff. and SADOVSKI 2007: 37ff; for Old Iranian, JUSTI 1895 and the Austrian Academy of Sciences project of the Dictionary of Personal Names in Iranian Languages (*Iranisches Personennamenbuch*), esp. IPNB I (as well as special works like SCHMITT 1978, 2002 and 2006a). Current accounts of this multi-volume onomastic work founded by Manfred MAYRHOFER, edited by Rüdiger SCHMITT, Heiner EICHNER, Bert G. FRAGNER and Velizar SADOVSKI, are granted by SCHMITT 2006b and SADOVSKI 2006: 542 with fn. 7; for the individual volumes, cf. GIGNOUX 1986 and 2003; ALRAM 1986; SCHMITT 1982; HUYSE 1990; FRITZ 2006.

⁷ For a recent introduction into the system of the most ancient Indian and Iranian proper names from the point of view of their (morphological) structure, see SADOVSKI 2006 (with bibliography) and cf. SCHMITT 2000a: 1–31, 67–86, 95–114, as well as the rich lit. quoted in SCHMITT 2006b: *passim*; on the classification and systematization of personal names according to semantic principles, see recently SADOVSKI 2009. In what follows, I give a brief account of these thematic fields that is supplemented by the presentation of the data in SADOVSKI 2009, with additional relevant material.

⁸ Attempts to apply modern (rationalist) socio-economic theories on Vedic society, largely using Vedic speculations as a starting point or even as “bodies of evidence” had, in fact, more than limited success; in this regard, see the studies of SALETORÉ 1973, cf. the bibliographical references in RENOU 1931: 146–158 (esp. at §§ 133 and 137) and the items dedicated to economic history in DANDEKAR 1946–85 and STIETENCROON (ed.) 1992, respectively.

⁹ On the Vedic system of metaphors and similes and its internal (sometimes, allegedly, ‘irrational’) logics, see GONDA 1949: 21ff. *et passim* and 1959: 206ff.; 211ff. For what regards similes in the RV. with *horses* as comparanda, see AMMER 1939: 109–112 (of Soma), 30f. (of Agni), 72f. (of Indra), 94 (of the Marut-s), 44 (of Mitra & Varuna), 51 (of the Aśvin-s), 85 (of Uṣas), with conclusions (concerning the ‘horse’ similes: esp. 133, 136) and statistics (139–157, esp. 139, 140, 144, 146, 152, 153, 157); cf. GONDA 1959: 210f. and PLATH 1992. Metaphors and similes connected with the (image of) a chariot are displayed in EDGERTON 1919 and, more recently, SPARREBOOM 1985, OBERLIES 1998: 415f., 459f. and 1999: 224ff., 245–250; on the symbolism of the wheel in Indian cosmological speculations compare e.g. HORSCH 1957 or KRICK 1982: 326f., fn. 857 (wheel) and *ibid.* 535, fn. 1458 (chariot). – For similes referring to the concept of ‘pasture’, see ELIZARENKOVA 1999: 146–149; 137 and 231. – A comprehensive list of such metaphoric uses of the image of chariot and its components in Homer is given by PLATH 1994b: 118–395; cf. also the remarks in SCHMITT 1995: 285.

theosophical character, so that, for the purposes of material-culture reconstruction, the exegetical treatises sometimes need more interpretative steps themselves than the sources they comment upon!¹⁰

1.3. Thus, only texts of later periods can be really useful for a more detailed, although by no means systematic, history of economy: in the case of the Veda such sources are the monuments of (technical) literature concerning the daily accomplishment of ritual activities, the Sūtras – especially the Śrauta Sūtras dealing with the solemn ritual,¹¹ the Gṛhya Sūtras concerned with the private, “domestic” ritual,¹² as well as the Śulba Sūtras¹³ – prosaic texts of auxiliary character concerning e.g. the construction of sacrificial altars. These texts frankly turn out to be a real treasury for the *Realienkunde*,¹⁴ showing, although in a very ‘economic’ (here = thrifty and concise) way, specific aspects of the concepts concerned: for example, one can reconstruct, albeit only *per disiecta membra*,¹⁵ the dimensions of several types of chariots¹⁶ (used mostly for representative purposes, in and outside the ritual)¹⁷ or find out the respective functions of different types of carts and wagons for transporting goods. However, the presence of proper names in these sources, if we do not count the names from the mantras or other quotations of literary monuments older than the Sūtras, is rather marginal; the (human) personal names mentioned here consist mostly of (semi-)mythical personalities already known from the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas and only rarely of names of persons contemporary to the Sūtra époque, e.g., of authoritative ritualists. Thus, the appearance of the names of persons vs. *realia* of a clearly-defined socio-economic function shows a largely complementary, if not a privative distribution. In spite of this distribution, perhaps somehow disappointing to the believers in linguistic positivism, the later texts allow us an insight about the motivation of some proper names, granting information about the *appellative* value of the words serving as their derivational basis or underlying to their compositional terms.

1.4. Proper names and epithets can in fact shed light on the position of certain key concepts contained in them among the values of the persons concerned (more precisely, of the generation of their parents),¹⁸ especially of the authors of the respective texts, and their social milieu. But they allow only very general, sometimes rather trivial, conclusions¹⁹ in purely economic regard. Nevertheless, they often contain some of the earliest attestations of the relevant lexical material, as in the case of Old Persian, where the mass of

¹⁰ One has to relativize the common cliché about ‘obscurity’ of brāhmaṇic forms of expression in general and to take distance oneself from pejorative qualifications like the ones by W.D. WHITNEY who once called them “aberrations of the human mind” (AJPh 3, 393). Derogatory claims such as those cited in GONDA 1975a: 342 with fn. 17, were too often based on misunderstandings or facile assumptions dispelled by a better text analysis; see the polemics of CALAND 1990: 542ff. against KEITH 1914; in fact, Brāhmaṇas give discrete information both on geographical issues (as WITZEL 1987 tried to show) and about social environment (cf. BASU 1969). However, a good deal of the ritual descriptions and exegetical discussions are pretty far from what was called by Hermann OLDENBERG “vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft”, while the sober and unpretentious but efficient style of presentation and argumentation in the Sūtras – in which, for the first time, “die Darstellung der rituellen Praxis [beruht] inhaltlich und nicht selten auch sprachlich auf Informationen, die zuvor systematisch aus verschiedenen Quellen gesammelt worden sind” (KLAUS 2000: 183) – would no doubt be more productive for the purposes of the researcher on economic history (for the [ethno-]geographical aspect, cf. BRUCKER 1980).

¹¹ On their heuristic value, see GONDA 1977: 489ff. and 616–621, SHARMA 1977: *passim* and KLAUS 2000 (e.g. 182ff.) and cf. TSUJI 1970: 183ff. and KASHIKAR 1968: 165–173.

¹² A classical survey is given by OLDENBERG (1886 and 1892, see esp. the respective Introductions); cf. GONDA 1977: 546–615 and 467 with fn. 10.

¹³ See e.g. GONDA 1977: 469f.; 473. – On the Kalpasūtras in general, see *ibid.* and cf. GOPAL 1959 (but note WITZEL 1987: 205, fn. 108).

¹⁴ Recommendable is the summary of various themes of agriculture, livestock-breeding, esp. cattle-raising etc. in RENOU 1950/1997: 131–151, esp. 139ff. and 142ff. Concerning the Vedic period, cf. RENOU 1931: 149 and the relevant rubrics in DANDEKAR 1946–85.

¹⁵ See the results of SHARMA 1977 as well as AGRAWALA 1963, for the Pāṇinian evidence.

¹⁶ See the deviations between the reconstructions of RAU 1983: 34 and SPARREBOOM 1985: 127 and cf. OBERLIES 1999: 224.

¹⁷ Cf. the outline given by OBERLIES 1999: 221–227, especially the remarks *ibid.* 221f. (with fn. 4) and 224; furthermore, see the lit. quoted in § 2 below.

¹⁸ E.g. NEUMANN 1991a: 167f.; cf. also NEUMANN 1994; SADOVSKI 2006: 549 with further refs. in fn. 32–33.

¹⁹ It goes without saying that, while personal names like Younger Avestan (YAv) *Yuxtāspa-* that corresponds to an epithet *yuxtāspa-* identical with Vedic *yuktāśva-*, allow a reconstruction of an important common Indo-Iranian compound **(h)īuktāśva-* “whose horses are harnessed” (“having his horses harnessed” / “having harnessed his horses”), the recognition of this rather banal habit of the Aryans is of an epistemological value which leaves more to be desired.

personal names and their derivatives attested in the various traditions (above all, beside OPers itself, in Elamic or New and Late Babylonian sources²⁰) plays a decisive role within the linguistic material as a whole.²¹ Onomastic collections such as the ones by Alfons HILKA (1910: 119f. et passim), Jacob Antoon VAN VELZE (1938: 89–91), Marcus SPARREBOOM (1985: 138f.), and, in more recent time, Manfred MAYRHOFER with his monograph on Old Iranian (1977a) and R̥gvedic proper names (2003), list more than 200 items containing the terms for horse, chariot and accessories! However, again, they contain much more often the highly-stylized emanation from what we know from the hymnic poetry than a rational enumeration of data rationally assessable from an economic point of view. That is why, in presenting this material, we cannot make part of the general neo-liberalist tendency of present-day by paying a tribute to the motto ‘less *poetry* and more *economy*’! Therefore, let us first concentrate, in the most economic way possible, on the data about the goods wagon versus the chariot of military or representative use, according to the mixed information gained from early Aryan poetry and exegetic literature.

2. There is rich literature on horses and chariots in the Veda and Avesta;²² among the special treatises concerning the Veda, one should underline the pioneer presentation of relevant material made by ZIMMER 1879²³, the respective lemmata of the *Vedic Index*²⁴, the detailed accounts on the horse sacrifice in SCHWAB 1886 and DUMONT (1927 and 1948, see below) as well as Marcus SPARREBOOM’S dissertation (1985) on the chariot. Substantial insights in horse-riding are contained in the survey by Harry FALK 1994; useful for studies of particular aspects are e.g. GONDA 1965: 71–114²⁵ and Thomas OBERLIES’ reflections on the horse and chariot with a particular focus on their place in (the symbolism of) the solemn (Soma) ritual²⁶. Overviews concerning the role of the horse in Iranian, Anatolian and Greek traditions, respectively, have recently been given by OETTINGER 1994 as well as PLATH 1994a²⁷. For an outline of the problem from an Indo-European perspective, see, beside SCHMITT 2000b: 402, also the refs. at MALLORY – ADAMS (eds.) 1997²⁸ and a series of the recent works by Peter RAULWING²⁹.

2.1. It is well-known³⁰ that for ancient Indo-Iranians, vehicles often played a rôle far more important than houses. For a largely migrating community like the early-Vedic one,³¹ this statement is not paradoxical and not exaggerated at all – one can see the phenomenon reflected in numerous constant epithets as well as in several proper names attested since the oldest Vedic period. The circumstance that the Vedic Indians often used to spend more time on their wagons and chariots than in permanent accommodations³² is underlined for example by (poetic) epithets like *rátha-proṣṭha-* m., attested in the loc. pl. at RV. 10,60,5 (*ásamātiṣu*

²⁰ A study by Ran ZADOK of Iranian personal names in New and Late Babylonian tradition (IPNB, vol. VII, fasc. 1b) is being prepared for print in 2008 at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

²¹ See MAYRHOFER 1973; 1977b.

²² For general remarks on the economic function but also on the ritual and symbolic presence of horses among other animals in the Vedic world, see e.g. the sketches in RENOU 1950/1997: 121f., 128–130 (military function) and 143f. (economics) or by MACDONELL 1899: 150–151, 109, 165f. (sacrifice).

²³ See pp. 71, 76f.; on horse-breeding: 221ff., esp. 230–232.

²⁴ MACDONELL – KEITH 1912: 42f., s.v. *Aśva*; 21f., s.v. *Anas*; 201–203, s.v. *Ratha*, as well as 203–207 on compounds or derivatives containing this element as a compositional term or derivational basis.

²⁵ In the chapter on “The absence of *vāhanas* in the Veda and their occurrence in Hindu art and literature”; see especially pp. 95ff. on the history of driving and riding in the Ind[o-Iran]ian tradition from an Indo-European perspective.

²⁶ OBERLIES 1999: 221–256, in the detailed excursus “*Vājasāti* II: Der Siegeslauf des Rennpferdes”; on Vedic epithets with the word for ‘horse’ or with the concept of ‘horse sacrifice’ as point of reference, cf. also GONDA 1959: 210f.

²⁷ On Early Greek chariot see PLATH 1994b and cf. SCHMITT 1995.

²⁸ Containing also an account on various earlier works, e.g. by James P. MALLORY or Colin RENFREW.

²⁹ E.g. RAULWING 1995; 1998; 2000: esp. 25–36, 60–68; here, archaeological data meet linguistic interpretations (mainly by Manfred MAYRHOFER and Rüdiger SCHMITT). See also ZIMMER 1994: 32f. and cf. the refs. in MEID 1989: 10f., 15, 18ff., 25–27 etc. (and MEID 1994: 54–57 [horse] and 57–64 [chariot], with partially out-of-date etymologies).

³⁰ See e.g. RAU 1983: 22ff.; a summary on the *status quo* (till 2000) of the research in linguistic issues about the horse from a Proto-Indo-European point of view is given by SCHMITT 2000b: 402; cf. HÄUSLER 2000: 403–404 (“§ 9. Domestikation des Pferdes und Ursprung des Wagens”).

³¹ See VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1975 and cf. SPARREBOOM 1985: 4 with fn. 15.

³² Cf. Megasthenes’ testimony (*Indika*, fragment L, 2–3) quoted by RAU 1983: 22 (compare RAU 1977: LXXXV); on the value of Megasthenes as a source for Ancient Indian history see esp. MCCRINDLE 1926.

ráthapros̥theṣu) and probably meaning ‘having the chariot (*rátha-*) as night-camp / camp-bed (*prós̥tha-*)’ (PNRV 2.1.414).³³

2.2. It is also for reasons both of religious relevance and of social prestige that we find a series of *proper names*, or, something more: personal names of heroes or nobles containing either the stem **Haćya-* ‘horse’ (Avestan [-]*aspa-*, Vedic [-]*aśva-*) or the stem **rátHa-* (>**rát̥a-*) ‘chariot’ (Av. [-]*raθa-*, Ved. *rátha-/°ratha-*)³⁴. The onomastic data are of special value for the history of Iranian languages, since our most ancient sources for instance of Old Persian are delivered by catalogues of proper names, attested on myriads of cuneiform tablets from Elam to Babylonia.³⁵ Thus, the two fundamental *means of war* of the Aryan nobility are reflected in proper names like (a) Elam.-Iran. *Pirriyašba*,³⁶ to be reconstructed as **Friya-aspa-*, attested also among Indo-Aryans of Near Asia in the middle of the 2nd millennium BC as **Prīta-aśva-*, **Priya-aśva-*,³⁷ from Indo-Iranian **prija-(H)aćya-* ‘whose horses (to whom horses) are dear’,³⁸ and (b) RV. 1,122,7 *Priyāratha-* ‘whose chariot (to whom the chariot) is dear’ (PNRV 2.1.353), with (formulaic) phraseological parallels from Vedic poetry (cf. PNRV, p.64).

3. The Vedic chariot “can only be reconstructed from references in the literature, since with the exception of one wheel (!) no actual chariots or even chariot parts have been revealed by archaeology”; in Old Indo-Iranian languages, we distinguish between two main types of vehicles (cf. lexical accounts in MACDONELL – KEITH 1912: 21f., 201ff.; SPARREBOOM 1985 with lit.). The first one is the *travelling or goods cart*, called in Sanskrit *ánas-*. The second type comprises the so-called *military chariot* or *race chariot*, subsumed under the name OInd. *rátha-*, OAv./YAv. *raθa-*. A number of technical terms – parts of the chariot and some terms for manoeuvres – cannot be recovered, as even the classical work on ‘Chariots in Veda’ by SPARREBOOM (1985) had to admit as a part of its conclusions, after years of research and a careful assessment of the available facts. The early representations in art, those depicted at Sāñchī in approximately the 1st century after Christ, are claimed to be “fairly realistic”.³⁹ Of course, a place for a ‘*ignoramus atque ignorabimus*’ always remains. But in the microcosm of Avesta and Veda, the meticulous analysis of poetical texts not only can shed light on many details of the construction of real chariots or wagons; it can also be supported by the data of sober treatises like the ones in the Śrauta Sūtras (see above), in which the concepts appear in their direct lexical meaning.

3.1. Much more than about goods carts or travelling carts, our texts inform us about *military* or *race chariots* – Vedic *rátha-*, Avestan *raθa-*. Both Ancient Iranian and Ancient Indian poetry gives us rich material about this central element of military life but also of Aryan ritual: for the most detailed descriptions of an ideal wagon are not the ones of kings’ or generals’ chariots but the ones of the chariots of gods like Miθra in the Avestan Yašt 10, or Indra and Agni in the Rīgveda. Depictions of gods as riders or charioteers make an important part of divine imagery in sacral poetry.

Thus, in Avesta, we have the champion’s name *Ayraēraθa-* meaning ‘whose chariot is on the front-line’. A series of poetical formulae in Veda and Avesta corresponds to this name – we have only to recall the Old Indian expression *ágre ráthānām* ‘on the top of the chariots’ in RV 9,96,1. One should emphasize also the series of Avestan names of brothers *Dāraiaθ.raθa-*, *Frāraiaθ.raθa-* and *Skāraiaθ.raθa-* in Yašt 13,⁴⁰ meaning ‘the one who withholds the chariot’, ‘the one who promotes the chariot’, ‘the one who sets the

³³ HOFFMANN 1992: 862 (with lit.); EWAia 2,193; PNRV 75, with further lit.

³⁴ EWAia. 2,429f.; on the inventory of Avestan derivatives cf. HUMBACH 1977, on the type *rath̥-* s. also the remark in KLINGENSCHMITT 1992: 104.

³⁵ MAYRHOFFER 1973: 5; 1977b: 7f.; SCHMITT 2000a.

³⁶ MAYRHOFFER 1973: 218; IPNB 1,45, no. 148 and 146.

³⁷ A typological parallel in the Germanic name system is delivered by Old English *frīd-hengest* ‘a horse well looked after’, SCHMITT 1967: 243f., IPNB 1,45.

³⁸ See EWAia. 2,189; PNRV 2.1.353n.

³⁹ See the exposé by SPARREBOOM 1985: 83–117, esp. 92. Cf. *ibid.*, 113: “On the Sāñchī monuments seventeen representations of cars can be found, sixteen on the pillars and gateways around stūpa I and one on a balustrade of stūpa II. They are all two-wheeled, open vehicles drawn by horses, with the exception of one covered, two-wheeled cart, which is drawn by two oxen [...]. Apart from one relief on which the chariot is drawn by four horses [...], all chariots are drawn by two horses.”

⁴⁰ IPNB 1,35, no. 102; 1,44, no. 141 and 1,76, no. 284; SCHMITT 2000a: 6, 11, 101, 148; 2006; SADOVSKI 2007: 62.

chariot into motion’, which correspond to Ancient Indian names of the same second term, as for example, *Adhiratha*-⁴¹ or epithets like *apratiratha*- ‘whose car has no “against” / no opponent’⁴².

The idea of the ‘brilliant chariot’ is expressed by the compound name *citrāratha*- (PNRV 2.1.177), with RV + *citrā*- ‘glänzend’, Gāthic Av., YAv. *čiθra*- as a first term. A shortened form of this or a similar name might be present in RV 8,21,18; Br + *citra*- m.⁴³ (with an accent shift), just like also in Old Pers. **čiča*-, and Med. **čiθra*- in a hypocoristicon OPers. **čičina*- < **čiθrina*- etc. For *Citrāśva*- of Epic Sanskrit, VAN VELZE 1938: 90 and 151, fn. 471a, posits a meaning “picture” + “horse”, based on Sāvitṛī (2,13). This context-dependent interpretation, however, even if right, should not leave out the tradition that a “white horse with black ears is mentioned in the Atharvaveda [5,17,15] as being of special value” (MACDONELL – KEITH 1912: 42f.); the epithets in the text are *śvetā*- ‘light, white’ and *kṛṣṇakārṇa*- ‘black-ear[ed]’. MAYRHOFER (IPNB 1,77f., no. 292) assigns the name *Spiti*- to the same group, reconstructing a compound full form as **Spitii-aspa*- ‘mit weißen Rossen’ and referring, for what regards the second term, to the fact that the name-holder’s brother’s name is *Ərəzrāspa*-.

3.2. Beside the appellative *dāśaratha*- m. ‘a train/procession of ten chariots’, from an adjectival possessive compound of the meaning ‘containing ten (*dāśa*-) chariots (*rātha*-)’, GRASSMANN⁴⁴ considers (for RV 1,126,4), as an alternative, a personal name which PNRV ad loc. compares with names like *daśaratha*- (attested from Epic Sanskrit on), Pāli *dasaratha*-, Prākṛit *dasaraha*- m.

The attestations not only of the two-horse chariots (“*biga*”-s) but also of *quadrigas* in the holy hymns correspond to personal names like Young Avestan *Čaθβaraspa*- ‘having four horses, ein Viergespann habend’, compare the YAv. complexive compound *čaθβarə.aspa*- ‘a complex of four horses, *Viergespann*’, or YAv. *Biiaṣan*-, meaning perhaps ‘Having (or: Driving with) two stallions’⁴⁵.

4. The last two names bring us to the next point, the *horses*.⁴⁶

4.1. While the normal designation of ‘horse’ in Vedic is *áśva*-, m. (and that of ‘mare’: *áśvā*-, f.), there are manifold further terms: the relevant epithets are a legion and a big part of them became then quasi synonymous with ‘horse’, each of them preserving, nevertheless, a specialized meaning.⁴⁷ Thus, an epithet of the semantics ‘the swift’, **aryant*-, already existing in Indo-Iranian – means both in Ved. *árvan(t)*- and in Av. *auruuant*- also ‘racehorse’ (EWAia. 1,121f.), *árvañi*- (RV, AV) meaning ‘(swift) mare’. – With the same stem as first term we meet, in Yt. 5,105, the name *Auruuaṣaspa*- (IPNB 1,26f. no. 57), father of Yt. 15,28 and 19,41 *Vīštāspa*- (IPNB 1,97, no. 379), in accord with the tradition of name-giving described in §§ 4.2. and 5.4. below. The meaning of the last-mentioned noble name, one of the most discussed in modern Old Iranian onomastics,⁴⁸ is posited as ‘whose horses are loosened (to run asunder)’ (~ Ved. *vīṣita*- *áśva*-); its antonym from the same verbal root is *Hitāspa*- (IPNB 1,50, no. 171) ‘whose horses are bound (at the chariot [?])’, on the other hand, its pendant with the same adverb/preverb in the first term is RV+ *Vyaśva*- ‘whose horses are asunder’ (or, else, “away”!)⁴⁹, an Entheos compound.

To this thematic complex belongs the post-RV compound *Sākam-aśva*- (Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 3,101), the name of a descendant of Priyamedha.⁵⁰ It means ‘whose horses are (collected) together’, with the adverb *sākām* as its first term, and is to be added to the lemma on *sākām* in EWAia. 2,721f.

⁴¹ VAN VELZE 1938: 91; SCHMITT 2000a: 6.

⁴² *Apratiratha*- is notably also the name of the RV hymn 10,36 in the Agniciti ritual (as well as during the ritual of the foundation of sacrificial fire); see KRICK 1982: 327, fn. 857.

⁴³ PNRV 2.1.176, EWAia. 1,542.

⁴⁴ Literature in PNRV 2.1.223.

⁴⁵ With IPNB 1,32, no. 86, thus against Justi’s interpretation as ‘zweier Männer Kraft habend’.

⁴⁶ From the literature published after the appearance of SPARREBOOM’s monograph and OBERLIES’ compendium, see the summary of Indian facts given by FALK 1994 with regard to the horse-riding; see also COOMARASWAMY 1942 and cf. the (cursory) survey in ESNOUIL 1986.

⁴⁷ On the denotations that follow cf. EWAia: s.vv.; MACDONELL – KEITH 1912: 42f.

⁴⁸ Most recently, cf. SCHMITT 2006b: 124; 125, fn. 191; 195 with fn. 178.

⁴⁹ SADOVSKI 2000: 468, § 1.3.1.2 (on the compound type); PNRV 2.1.463; 2.2.436; cf. the patronymicon in 2.1.495.

⁵⁰ Cf. CALAND 1919: 243, no. 181f.; prosopography *ibid.*, 318.

Further epithets – and secondary denominations – of horse are: *átya-*, m., of the mare: *atyā-*, f., perhaps ‘the runner’, if from the family of *sám+at-* ‘to run off’⁵¹; – ‘the (horse) harnessed in a team’ (*sapti-*, cf. EWAia 2, s.v.); – ‘the one furnished with the award of victory’ (*vājin-*); on the concept of *vāja-* and the derivatives and compounds with its participation, see now PINAULT 2006. The semantic range of the ‘spurring-on’ is present in *háya-*, m., with its pendant in the personal name *Haya-* (Pur.)⁵², cf. the second term in the compound adjective *aśva-hayá-* ‘driving horses, making horses dash’. A specific Indian designation of the mare is, moreover, *vādabā-*, f. (KS.+; EWAia. 2,494), to which a later (Purāṇic) proper name *Vaḍavā* (VAN VELZE 1938: 89a), with phonological variation, corresponds. The ‘swiftness’ of horses is present as a marker also in the semantic range of the Avestan *Xšuiβrāspa-* ‘mit flinken Rossen’⁵³, from a common Indo-Iranian **kšūipra-*, YAv. *xšuiβra-* ‘deft, nimble’, Ved. *kṣiprá-*.

4.2. Among the proper names containing the word for ‘horse’, we find *inherited ones* like the Avestan *Θrəzrāspa-* ‘Having fast horses’, identical with Ved. *Ṛjráśva-*, or the Avestan *Frīnāspa-* (s. also § 4.3. below), related to **Prīta-aśva-*, **Priya-aśva-* attested in Aryan of Near East (comparable to the Vedic formulaic phrase *áśvān prī-* ‘to take care of the horses’). In a significant contrast to this Indo-Iranian situation, *Mycenean Greek*, for instance, does not use names containing the word for ‘horse’, they appear from Homer onwards.⁵⁴ However, as Ernst RISCH⁵⁵ observes, “Bemerkenswert ist [...], dass statt ‘Pferd’ ‘Wagenteile’ oder ‘Wagen’ in [mykenischen] Namen mehrmals vorkommen”. Both Ancient Greek and Ancient Indian make a broad use of the inherited Indo-European method of name-giving by means of the repetition of elements of names of persons as (part of the) names of their relatives.⁵⁶ In exactly the same way we find the element ‘horse’ present in the names of *both* tyrant-killers, the brothers *Hippias* and *Hipparchos*,⁵⁷ we find in the Mahābhārata⁵⁸ the names of the Dānava brothers *Aśva-*, *Aśvapati-*, *Aśvaśiras-*. In this typological parallel, which moreover includes an element of common origin (PIE **h₁ek₂uos*)⁵⁹, we notice also the same method of using abbreviated one-stem names beside compound ones not only in “vertical” genealogical line, between (grand-)father and son⁶⁰, but also on a collateral level, in the names of brothers (like Skt. *Vṛka-tejas-* and *Vṛka-la-*)⁶¹, of sisters and even of twins⁶². In this respect, too, we should not forget also the brothers’ names of the Avestan Yašt 13 quoted above – *Dārāiaṭraθa-*, *Frārāiaṭraθa-* and *Skārāiaṭraθa-* (SADOVSKI 2007: 62).

4.3. It is precisely the names containing the word for ‘horse’ that build a whole series of *comparanda* between Iranian and Indian. Here we have the Old Persian **Vidāspa-* ‘finding/obtaining horses’, to be analysed as **Vida-+aspa-*, versus the Ved. **Vidád-aśva-*, attested in the patronymic (PNRV 89) *Váidadaśv-i-* (: RV+ *aśva-vid-*). The same first term also appears in another compound with a domestic animal in the

⁵¹ EWAia. 2,58f., with refs., on p. 59, to (alleged?) Iranian parallels like the Scythian personal name ‘Ατρέας, on which see now MAYRHOFER 2006.

⁵² Cf. VAN VELZE 1938: 89a; phraseological parallels and etymological analysis in EWAia. 2,803; the latter underlines the relation of this name in origin with the Armenian appellative *jī* ‘horse’, on which see in detail Ch. DE LAMBERTERIE in: PINAULT – PETIT 2006 (eds.): (222–)223 and cf. R. SCHMITT, *Kratylos* 53, 2008, 59.

⁵³ Yt. 13,111, cf. IPNB 1,101, no. 399, cf. also no. 397.

⁵⁴ NEUMANN 1991a: 174; 1991b: 323; 1994.

⁵⁵ RISCH *ad* NEUMANN 1991a: 175, in a contribution to the conference discussion.

⁵⁶ See most recently SADOVSKI 2007, with lit.

⁵⁷ *Der Kleine Pauly* 4,681–685, s.v. ‘Pferd’.

⁵⁸ Mbh. 1,59,24 (1,65,2531–2532), cf. SÖRENSEN 1904–25: 7b, 8a, 9a.

⁵⁹ See EWAia. 1,139f.; 807; 2,827, with further refs., and cf. ZIMMER 1994.

⁶⁰ We can call this phenomenon ‘Hildebrand syndrome’, if we have repetition of *final terms*, or ‘reverse of the Hildebrand syndrome’, respectively, if the repeated terms are the initial ones; cf. SADOVSKI 2007: 61–64 and 58–59, with lit.

⁶¹ HILKA 1910: 71; cf. SCHMITT 2000a: 11, with further instances from Thracian and Germanic; the case of the Gk. simplex name *Hippos* does not belong to the type of *Aśva-/Hippias/Vṛkala-*; in this case we have a *nickname* of a winner at the Olympian games called *Hermogenes* (SCHMITT 2000a: 11), cf. Pausanias 6,13,3.

⁶² We have a series of typical examples for this type of name-giving up to our day e.g. in German (*Bernhard* and *Bernfried*; here, also alliteration of the first consonants can be a marker of relation, cf. KUNZE 1998: 29a on the Nibelung names *Gunther*, *Gernot*, *Giselher*, and *Grimhilt*), Italian ([*U-*] *Baldo* and *Arcimbaldo*, of Germanic origin), and Bulgarian (*Svetozar* and *Svetomir*), to mention only three representatives of modern IE language groups such as Romance, Slavic or Germanic.

second term, the Avestan *Vīdaṭ.gu-* (: RV+ *go-vid-*) ‘finding/obtaining cows’.⁶³ Similarly, the name YAv. *Arājaṭ.aspa-* (six times in Avesta) means ‘attaining horses’.⁶⁴ Acquisition of and care for the horses possessed was considered a virtue so important that this concept was present already in the common Indo-Iranian system of proper names: so in the YAv. *Frīnāspa-* ‘whose horses are well looked after’. “Looking after” means in this context everything connected with the physical health and welfare of the horse: Further names represent the horses of the name holder should be ‘fat’ – Yt. 13,131 *Tumāspana-*, a patronymicon from a **Tuma-aspa-* ‘having fat horses’ (IPNB 1,81, no. 308).

A quasi “double negation” of this last concept is contained in the Purāṇic name *A-kṛṣāśva-* ‘whose horses are not meagre’, as opposed to the denomination of a person as “the one with the meagre/weak/reprehensible/unsatisfactory horses”, a motif in the system of name-giving which exhibits strong tabooistic traces. The last name is the one of the most elevated Aryan heroes, attested from the Avesta on – *Kərəsāspa-* (IPNB 1,60, no. 216; for other names with this element, cf. *ibid.* 59f., no. 213–215). To this type belong also names like the sacrificer’s name *ninditāśva-*, m. (RV 8,1,30; PNRV 2.1.276) meaning ‘the one whose horses are unsatisfactory’.

What regards material-economic parameters, “[h]orses were highly prized [...] and were not rare [...], for as many as four hundred mares are mentioned in one Dānastuti (‘Praise of Gifts’). [...] They were on occasion ornamented with pearls and gold.” (MACDONELL – KEITH 1912: 42). Horses are not only bought in an expensive way; a horse can itself be a price unit: Compounds like *pañcāśva-* ‘the one who costs (is bought for) five horses’⁶⁵ (AiGr II/2,53, II/1,309; similar price amounts are also given in terms of cows).

4.4. The horse is, of course, not only a prestigious possession but also a real cult object. The colour of the horses is not only a distinctive feature of different types and noble breeds, it has of course various implications in a mythological respect. The Veda distinguishes, e.g., dark-brown horses (Vedic *śyāva-*, Avestan *siauuā-*) – and among the list of compound personal names of Proto-Indo-Iranian origin we can count the one of the Rig-Vedic poet *Śyāvāśva-* ‘the one who has brown horses’, parallel to the Avestan **Siāuuāspa-* (attested in the patronym *Siāuuāspi-*)⁶⁶; cf. also *Siiāuuaršan-* m. ‘whose stallions are dark’, the name of *Haosrauuah-*’s father. A (not small) part of attested one-stem names like RV 8,85,3.4 *kṛṣṇa-* or (RV 1,116,23; 1,117,7:) *kṛṣṇiyā-* (PNRV 2.1.149–150.)⁶⁷ have their origin as abbreviated forms of compounds, and among the latter, one can easily expect formations of the second term ‘horse’, just like Gk. Μέλας ‘Black’ vs. Μελάνπιος ‘Having black horses’. Furthermore, the sources differ between light or white horses (Vedic *śvetā-*, Avestan *spāēta-*), dun horses (*harita-*, *hari-*), ruddy horses (*aruṇa-*, *aruṣa-*, *piśaṇga-*, *rohita-*), etc.⁶⁸ These colour differences are reflected, once again, in proper names: such as Young Avestan **Dāzgrāspa-* ‘whose horses are *dāzgra-*’ (that is to say, ‘coloured’, or perhaps even ‘dark’), attested in the patronymic derivative *Dāzgrāspi-*; compare personal names like Young Avestan *Dāzgrō.gu-* ‘whose horses are *dāzgra-*’. – More on names containing elements referring to horse in SADOVSKI 2009 (with discussion of further works by W. O’FLAHERTY [body-part material], H. FALK, N. OETTINGER and R. PLATH). On later Sanskrit names including words for colours cf. VAN VELZE 1938: 90a.

4.5. Horses and chariots are used in ritual both in a purely religious function, as fundamental elements of a series of central solemn ceremonies such as the *Aśvamedha*, *Vājapeya*, *Agnyādheya*, etc., but also in an aspect which has a certain economic relevance – as compensation (*dākṣiṇā-*) for the priests after the accomplishment of sacrificial activities. For as regards the first aspect, a series of personal names is connected with the solemn ritual of the Horse Sacrifice (*aśvamedhā-*)⁶⁹. In RV, in whose First Maṇḍala three

⁶³ See EWAia. 1,479, recently SCHMITT 2006a: 289f. and Sadovski 2006: 547, § 3.2.2.2., both with lit.

⁶⁴ So IPNB 1,20, no. 22: from the Avestan root *arj-* ‘to attain’ (and not from *arg-* ‘to be worth’, cf. no. 20–21 and 23).

⁶⁵ Orig. ‘the one who has (a complex of) five horses’, of the type of “Ableitungskomposita” discussed by RISCH 1945: 19ff.: *tetrá-drachmos* ‘vier Drachmen wert’ or, substantivated, *hekatómboion* ‘Besitz, der hundert Rinder wert ist’.

⁶⁶ Attestations and commentary in PNRV 95; SCHMITT 2000a: 48; SADOVSKI 2006: 543, § 2.2.

⁶⁷ On *viśvaka-kāṣṇi-* „Sohn des Kṛṣṇa“ (Anukrāmaṇī) cf. GELDNER 1951–54: 2,410b and PNRV 2.1.149.150(n).468.

⁶⁸ MACDONELL – KEITH 1912: 42, cf. EWAia. s.vv.

⁶⁹ A classical compendium on this central religious ritual remains DUMONT 1927 and, on its Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa version, DUMONT 1948; for reconstructions of its Rg-Vedic form (*per disiecta membra*) see the lit. in OBERLIES 1998: 290–292, esp. 290 with fn. 677 (incl. works on some Indo-Celtic parallels of particular moments of the ritual); cf. also EWAia. 2,377 (with literature till 1996).

important hymns are devoted to this royal ritual,⁷⁰ a king's name *áśvamedha-* occurs in the hymn RV 5,27,4.5.6 (PNRV 2.1.43), beside a patronymicon *āśvamedhá-* m.⁷¹

The name of the ritual is taken in the epics⁷² as a first term in the king's name *Áśvamedheśvara* – a compound of three elements (but by itself, of course, of two terms, one of which compounded: *áśvamedha-* + *īśvara-*); also in the first term of *Áśvamedhadatta-* (Mbh 1,90,95B = 1,95,3838; SÖRENSEN 1904–25: 8a) more probably here we have to do with the denomination of the ritual 'given by the Horse-Sacrifice' than with the personal name *Áśvamedha-*.

4.6. Individual elements of the horse or chariot armour such as the reins are also part of proper names. RV. 1,122,13 attests a compound *iṣṭáraśmi-*, earlier taken as an epithet (PW I 831, GRASSMANN 1873: 928) but later interpreted by GELDNER 1951: 1,170, IV 92b, EVP 5, 7 and PNRV 2.1.76. as a name of a sacrificer (*vajamāna-*); the first term corresponds to the one in *iṣṭáśva-* (RV 1,122,13, PNRV 2.1.77) 'who has desired horses', a further case of a sacrificer's name (or epithet?) of the same semantic sphere.

In the sphere of onomastics, we have attestations for the military use of horses, such as the Old Persian name (in the Elamic tradition) *Aš-ba-ya-u-da* 'horse-fighter'⁷³ that corresponds to the Young Avestan apposition and epithet *aspāiiaoda-* 'horse-fighter'.

5. But now let us turn from *war* to *peace*, with the various kinds of transport wagons or carts.

5.1. As a rule,⁷⁴ the cart (*ánas-*) was furnished with two wheels and two shafts which joined together in its front part. It was drawn by a team of two oxen. As regards the outer shape, it could vary depending on the purpose: The wagons consisted of a fur-coated wicker-work corpus. This wagon body rested on a rack or base. It was called in Sanskrit by a series of terms of metaphoric origin, of which *nīḍa-* 'nest' is the most common one. Rigveda, Book 10, Hymn 85, 7 calls the wagon corpus *kośa-* 'treasure'. The main body of the cart probably had a somewhat higher front part (Vedic *rathaśīrṣa-*) and two sidewalls, on which sometimes metal plates or balls hung for decorative purposes. Some carts, especially the ones for transporting persons, could be covered with tarps of plaited straw. When unhitched, two-wheeled wagons used to be held in a vertical position by supports set under the shafts.

5.2. Also in the case of the *ánas-*,⁷⁵ the first attestations in our sources give us details in a strictly ritual or religious-poetic context. Among the divinities strictly connected not only with a chariot (*rátha-*) but specifically with a wagon (*ánas-*) we have to emphasize the Dawn (*uśás-*)⁷⁶. One of the oldest descriptions is that of the wagon (*ánas-*) of the bride in RV. 10,85,8–12, a wedding hymn which uses not only the wagon as a whole but also its various parts such as (wagon-roof) shelter (*chadiś-*), wheels (*cakrá-*), axle (*ákṣa-*), shaft (*pratidhī-*) etc. as starting point for a series of metaphorical identifications that elevate the image of the bride (called *Sūryā*, "Sunny") to a highly sacral level adequate to the holy character of the ceremony:

The praising songs were (her) shaft (*pratidhī-*) [...]. Mind was her wagon (*ánas-*), and Heaven was the wagon-shelter (*chadiś-*); the two Lights [perhaps = Sun and Moon] were the wagon-pullers (oxen) [...] (after tr. WHITNEY – LANMAN).

5.3. The primary *economic function* of the *ánas-* cart was to transport food; in our texts we find a detailed account of the goods loaded on and delivered by means of these small carts. Thus, the collections of the Black Yajur Veda like the MS, KS and KpKS report on the transport of *field fruits*. In Kāṭhaka-Brāhmaṇa we read about carts for *corn* (refs. at RAU 1983: 26, fn. 51). More specially, this concerns *rice* and *barley*, the

⁷⁰ On the RV hymns on the sacrificial horse cf. the important notes in GELDNER 1951: 221–227.

⁷¹ RV 8,68,15.16; on the presentation of the genealogical line from (great) grand-father to grand-son by means of a series of such (pro-)patronymica see SCHMITT 2000a: 21, 78, 183. Cf. PNRV 2.1.43, n.: „Für die Anukr[amaṇī] gelten *áśvamedha-* *bhārata-* oder die anderen in RV 5,27 genannten Könige (*tryaruṇa-* [...], *trasadasyu-* [...]) bzw. *atri-* [...] als Di[chter] dieses Liedes [...]“.

⁷² At Mbh. 2,26,8^a (= 2,29,1066), cf. SÖRENSEN 1904–25: 8a.

⁷³ A dossier in MAYRHOFFER 1973: 130; cf. IPNB 1,22, no. 32; MAYRHOFFER 1977b: 23.

⁷⁴ We follow here the presentation of the facts carried out by RAU 1983: 22–27.

⁷⁵ On the etymology and some phonological problems due to (apparently) irregular forms, see EWAia. 1,71.

⁷⁶ It is significant that from 12 attestations of the word *ánas-* in the RV, 5 or 6 refer directly to *Uśas'* wagon. Cf. e.g. the well-spread mythical topos of the Dawn who, chased by Indra, was even compelled to abandon her wagon (*ánas-*), after it had been smattered by him with the *vajra-*: RV. 4,30,9–11; 2,15,6c, 10,138,5d, basis for a simile in 10,73,6b.

two holy plants of Vedic sacrifice, and we find data on their transport in a series of ritual Sūtras such as the Āpastamba-, Satyāśadha- or Vaikhāṇasa-Śrauta-Sūtra.

Traditionally⁷⁷, the Ṛṣi name *arcanānas-*, m. (RV 5,64,7, AV +)⁷⁸, is interpreted as a compound with the word ‘cart’ as a second term and with a first term belonging to the root *arc* ‘praise; shine’. An alternative interpretation that opts for a suffixal **(H)nas-* has been given by F.B.J. KUIPER (1991: 46) and recently revived by MAYRHOFFER (EWAia. 2,254; PNRV 2.1.29.) with the conclusion: ‘Wohl kein Kompositum mit aia. *ānas-* „Lastwagen, Troßwagen“’.

What could favour an interpretation that operates with *ānas-* in the second term is the statistically outstanding connection between the *ānas-* wagon and the Dawn goddess (*uśās-*), on the one hand (see above) and, on the other, the close relation of the verb *arc-* with the Dawn (both as divinity and as phenomenon), attested many times from the RV⁷⁹ onwards.

5.4. A special sort of transport cart, the *havirdhāna-*, serves the purposes of the big Soma sacrifice.⁸⁰ The RV-Anukramaṇī lists *havirdhāna-* (*āṅgī-*) as the name of the ‘author’ of the hymns RV. 10,11–12 and 13 (alternatives see in PNRV 2.2.539). Here one frankly cannot ward off the impression that the Anukramaṇī, like in many other cases, just extrapolates and personalizes the object of the hymn, which in the case of RV. 10,13 are “die beiden Havirdhānas, d.h. die Wagen, auf denen die Somapflanzen zum Opferplatz gefahren wurden” (GELDNER 1951–57: 3, 140). However, this does not prevent the possibility of including this name in the Post-Vedic onomasticon – indeed, several Purāṇas such as VP 106, BhP 4,24,5.8 etc. attest *Havirdhāna-* as the name of a son of king *Antardhāna-*. It is a pair of names of father and son shaped in good old Indo-European tradition, in accord with the “Hildebrand syndrome” (see above); for reasons of completeness one has to say, however, that in Epic Sanskrit we find a pair carrying the names of *Antardhāman-* (father) and *Havirdhāman-*⁸¹ (son)⁸² respectively. – On the contrary, the identical phonological form of a further Vedic cart type, *pravāhana-* (about which shape and function the Vedic sources do not give sufficient information), and a name of a person from the ŚB on (also ChUp), has no immediate consequences since both words have an obvious semantic nucleus ‘carrying away’ that could be presented in both of them independently of the technical meaning of the appellative as ‘a specific sort of cart’.

In the most ancient Indian poetry and prose, we meet circa a dozen different forms and names of carts, at least three of which are worth mentioning here: The heaviest type called *indrāṇasa-* is the only big cart known from our sources. It has four powerful wheels and the height of a sacrificial post.⁸³ – Catering and kitchen utensils used to be transported on the so-called *mahānasa-*. This word is attested at AVP 5,1,2d (s. ed. Lubotsky ad loc.) and exists also later on, in Classical Sanskrit, where it simply designates the *house kitchen*! The original meaning must have been ‘the big load(ing-cart)/baggage(-train)’, partially showing the Proto-Indo-European etymon of

⁷⁷ See AiGr II 1,92, HILKA 1910: 139 (in the category “Wagen (Streitwagen)"); VAN VELZE 1938: 91b (under the rubric “chariots”!); GELDNER 1951–57: 2,73b, ad RV 5,64,7c; 4,37a.

⁷⁸ The Anukramaṇī lists an *arcanānas- ātreya-* as the author of RV, 5,63.64 and perhaps also of 8,42 (GELDNER 1951–57: 2,356a, PNRV, l. cit.)

⁷⁹ Cf. e.g. the causative in RV. 3,44,2: *haryānn uśasam arcayaḥ sūryaṁ haryānn arocayaḥ*; in the hymn 1,48 dedicated to Uśas, stanza 13 praises the *arcāyas*, her rays (on them cf. also the hymn to Uśas as Heaven’s Daughter, 5,79, esp. stanza 8), also denominated (from the same root) *arkā-* (multiple attestations) and *arcīṣ-* (RV 1,92,5, 1,157,1).

⁸⁰ See e.g. MYLIUS 1995: 141: “1) Bezeichnung zweier hölzerner, mit Matten bedeckter Wagen, auf denen nach dem [...] *agnipraṇayana* die Somastengel zum Pressen auf die Opferstätte gefahren werden; dies erfolgt am Vortag des eigentlichen Preßtages. [...] 2) die auf acht oder zwölf Stützen errichtete Überdachung oder Überdeckung dieser Wagen.”

⁸¹ Mbh. 12,99,23.36 (= Mbh. 13,147,6829, SÖRENSEN 1904–25: 320, s.v. Havirdhāman: „*Prajāpatiḥ*, son of Antardhāman and father of Pracīnabarhis“).

⁸² Here with a variant of the final term that apparently points out to another deverbative formation of *antar-dhā-* and an underlying syntagma of *dhā + haviṣ-*. In this case, at any rate, the question of the priority of the one group of formations to the other should remain open, since the Purāṇic couple could theoretically also have an independent existence with regard to the Ṛṣi name Havirdhāna given us by the Anukramaṇī – even if VAN VELZE (1938: 51b) classifies the Purāṇa attestation of the latter one under the rubric “[Names based on t]he material for the sacrifice”.

⁸³ RAU 1983: 27, with evidence from the Baudhāyana and the Vādhula Śrauta Sūtras (*ibid.*, fnn. 58–59); paradoxically, the lemma is lacking in MYLIUS 1995: 41, as do the other compound forms of *ānas-* as well as the simplex itself.

the word *ánas-*. It is related to the Latin *onus*, *-eris*, meaning ‘load, burden, freight, luggage, baggage’. The Vedic word then restricted its scope on the specific loads carried on the cart for the kitchen. – In the system of proper names, we can find a series of personal names derived from kitchen utensils⁸⁴ but none going back to this specific word; BhP attests only a toponym Mahānasa as a name of a mountain.

But this cart had not only ‘culinary’ functions:⁸⁵ it served also for carrying *firewood*, as evident from RV 10,86,18; *stones*, as proven by the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa 14,3,13, and even *dead bodies*, as we can see in several Śrauta-Sūtras like the ones of Śāṅkhāyana, Lāṭyāyana, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Satyāśadha and Kātyāyana. Aryans used special vehicles to transport the noble warrior’s armaments and military chariots to the battlefield – and this is the third function of the cart in daily life in times of peace.

6. Once again: Is something like ‘linguistic archaeology’ or ‘linguistic palaeontology’ possible at all? Even the most desperate optimists have to recognize how strongly some attempts to reconstruct the ‘Indo-European *Ur-heimat*’ have somewhat discredited the whole discipline. Comparative maps of the various reconstructed ‘Proto-homelands’ show huge discrepancies and can serve, for the time being, only to confirm the hilarious ‘law’ formulated by the American linguist THEETOR – that ‘the borders of the Proto-Indo-European homeland are there where the borders of linguistic competence of the Indo-Europeanist are, who tries to reconstruct it’!

We have to constrain our heuristic efforts on the data the texts themselves grant to us – not ignoring the fact that in the Indo-Iranian context we are dealing with highly stylized ritual poetry, which is not meant as a manual on ‘Wörter und Sachen’ but gives us an account on realities only from a meta-perspective, from which the *realia* have then carefully to be discerned and distinguished – especially in the case of the Indo-Iranian chariot and wagon. We should be modest in our expectations – but consequent in our detailed exploration of the texts, for in the case of Ancient India and Iran, we can rely on our sources, with all the specific constraints described so far. The discussion on horses and chariots, re-opened by Wilhelm RAU and continued in recent times by Harry FALK, Rüdiger SCHMITT and Peter RAULWING showed how possible the positive answer to this question could be – and how, every now and then, philology-based archaeology manages to discover the real objects corresponding to the concepts delivered to us in the texts.

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⁸⁴ Cf. the lists of VAN VELZE 1938: 51 (“The material for the Sacrifice”), and 94f. (“All sorts of domestic utensils”); HILKA 1910: 143 (“Einzelne Concreta als Personennamen”); to them, we can cautiously add the Vedic name *ambarīṣa-* (with a patronymicon *vārṣāgirá-*) – attested in RV 1,100,17 and later on in the epics (PNRV 2.1.24) –, which corresponds to an appellative TS. *ambarīṣa-*, m./n. ‘frying pan’. The meaning is questioned by PNRV, p. 10f.; however, one needs only to have a look at the lists of names of the semantic range for ‘pot’, ‘pan’, ‘sieve’ or ‘spoon’ (cf. the lit. in the beginning of this footnote, esp. VAN VELZE 1938: 94, “Earthenware, pans, water-jugs etc.”) to see that such items, unlike the clowns’ names in Shakespeare’s *Midsummer-Night’s Dream* (Flute, Bottom and Snug), are no simple nicknames but have formed a constant part of the Indian onomasticon since the earliest period.

⁸⁵ Cf. RAU 1983: 26 with fn. 52.

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Horse Exports from the Persian Gulf until the Arrival of the Portuguese

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INTRODUCTION

Ma Huan, participant in some of Zheng He's voyages to the Indian Ocean and thus observer of the different regions visited, enumerates the commodities available in Hormuz, which was the main port of the Persian Gulf in his times, as follows: blue, red and yellow jewels, rubies, emeralds, cats' eyes, and diamonds, large pearls like longan fruits, coral trees and branches, golden amber, amber beads, rosary beads, wax amber, black amber, all kinds of beautiful jade utensils, crystal utensils, ten kinds of embroidered velvet, woollens, scarlet cloth, felt and muslins, foreign blue and red silk-embroidered kerchiefs, etc.² One may indeed expect that such commodities caught the eye of a traveller arriving along the shores of Hormuz because they were of major importance for the Indian Ocean trade or, as in the case of the jewels, were of especially high value.

However, when we look at the Chinese end of the Indian Ocean trade network and see what sorts of commodities were appreciated there, other preferences prevail. The most important source of the Ming period (1368–1644) regarding incoming visitors and commodities are the "Veritable Records" (*Ming shilu* 明實錄) in which descriptions of foreign embassies constitute important entries. Here we find seven embassies from Hormuz (which always came together with envoys from other countries) arriving in China in the first half of the 15th century:³

- 1) 28 August 1414 (*Yongle, shi'er nian, ba yue, jiayin*, tribute: horses and local products),
- 2) 19 November 1416 (*shiyi yue, wuzi*, tribute: horses, rhinoceroses, elephants, and local products),
- 3) 26 February 1421 (*zheng yue, wuzi*, tribute: horses and local products),
- 4) 24 October 1423 (*jiu yue, wuxu*, no tribute mentioned),
- 5) 15 February 1426 (*Xuande yuan nian, chun zheng yue, guimao*, tribute: local products),⁴
- 6) 14 September 1433 (*run, ba yue, xinhai*, tribute: giraffes (*qilin* 麒麟), elephants, horses, and other products),
- 7) 9 February 1442 (*Zhengtong, liu nian, shi'er yue, xinyou*, tribute: horses).

The officials who recorded these embassies clearly stressed other tribute items as Ma Huan did: horses were listed in five cases and all the other items brought to China were bluntly summarized as "local products" (*fangwu* 方物). Thus the most estimated commodity which arrived in China from the Persian Gulf area, at least during the early Ming dynasty, was horses.

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² This listing is abbreviated, for a complete one see Ma Huan (author), J. V. G. Mills (tr., ed.), *Ying-yai Sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores [1433]*, The Hakluyt Society Extra Series 42 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 170-171; Ralph Kauz, Roderich Ptak, "Hormuz in Yuan and Ming Sources", *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 88 (2001), p. 60.

³ *Ming shilu*, 133 vols. (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1966) (Taizong), j. 154, p. 1776; j. 182, p. 1963; j. 233, p. 2255; j. 263, p. 2403, (Xuanzong), j. 13, p. 347; j. 105, p. 2341; (Yingzong), j. 87, pp. 1755-1756. For a discussion of these embassies see Kauz/Ptak, "Hormuz in Yuan and Ming Sources", pp. 46-54; see also Roderich Ptak, "Pferde auf See: ein vergessener Aspekt des maritimen chinesischen Handels im frühen 15. Jahrhundert", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34 (1991), p. 230.

⁴ It is not certain if envoys from Hormuz arrived in China with this embassy; cf. Kauz/Ptak, "Hormuz in Yuan and Ming Sources", p. 52.

Overseas horse exports from the area of the Persian Gulf have been mentioned in some studies, but never dealt with exclusively.⁵ The aim of this paper is to outline the importance of the Persian Gulf as a hub of horse exports to India and China. It shall be suggested that horses constituted the chief merchandise of the region. As will be shown below, the Arab peninsula, the Red Sea (in particular the port of Aden at its mouth – the numerous reefs made navigating in the Red Sea itself extremely difficult) and the Persian Gulf were world-famous for their exports of horses. Because of practical reasons the focus will be laid on the area of the Persian Gulf in this paper and not on the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, where besides Aden other ports had emerged as trading centres. It is probably not too far-fetched to assume that differences and rivalries existed between merchants from the southern part of Arabia and the Red Sea on the one side and of the Persian Gulf on the other side. Such differences cannot be totally neglected,⁶ but were probably of rather small importance. Contrarily, the two trading cultures and networks were often so closely interwoven that they cannot be clearly distinguished.

I

But why were horses exported to such distant places as India and even China? There are two obvious answers: first, horses from the Persian Gulf area were of the utmost quality, and second, horses were in such immense demand in South and East Asia that they were even imported from the west of the continent. Regarding the first possible answer, another question arises. What kinds of horses were exported from the Persian Gulf: vaguely defined ‘Persian’ horses, famous Arab thoroughbreds or others? Whereas Arab thoroughbreds are clearly distinguished today as a special race of horse, this is not the case with Persian horses. But both horses from Arabia and Iran were highly estimated in overseas exchanges, as will be shown below. “Persian horses” can probably be associated with the Turkmen or Akhal-Teke horses of our days, though their relationship might not be so close. Similar remarks can be made about Arab horses which, however, also needed several centuries for their development to the present form. Furthermore, the classifications for horses were quite different to those used today; the traditional Arab hippological literature knew of three groups:⁷ *‘atīq* (1st class = noble, both parents of Arab lineage), *haḡīn* (2nd class, stallion with Arab lineage, mare without Arab lineage), *muqrif* (2nd class, mare with Arab lineage, stallion without Arab lineage), *birdoun* (3rd class, both parents of non-Arab lineage). However, one may ask here, what does “Arab lineage” mean? These terms were of course only used in a specific area, namely the Arab Peninsula; for overseas trade other names designated the various races and classes of horse.

The high esteem which horses from Western Asia enjoyed in China found expression in a range of designations: *mingma* 名馬, *liangma* 良馬, *junma* 駿馬, *dama* 大馬, *xima* 西馬, *tianma* 天馬 – famous, good, fine, big, western, and celestial horses.⁸ The Chinese obviously did not distinguish between horses of Arab or Iranian stock, but used names which indicate their superiority rather than their specific origin. The following horse types were differentiated in India:⁹

- *kuhī*-horses from the mountainous areas in Northeast India,
- *tātārī*-horses from Central Asia,
- *bahrī*-horses (literally “sea-horses”), imported by sea from the Arab Peninsula and the Persian Gulf.

⁵ See Simon Digby, *War-horse and Elephant in the Dehli Sultanate: a Study of Military Supplies* (Oxford: Orient Monographs, 1971), esp. pp. 29-33; Ranabir Chakravarti, “Horse Trade and Piracy at Tana (Thana, Maharashtra, India): Gleanings from Marco Polo”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34 (1991), pp. 159-182; Ptak, “Pferde auf See”, pp. 199-233; and the articles of Ranabir Chakravarti, Yokkaichi Yasuhiro and Rui Loureiro in this volume.

⁶ Thus, Walad al-‘Amīd, ruler of Kīsh, attacked Aden in ca. 1135 (S. D. Goitein, “Two eyewitness reports of an expedition of the king of Kīsh (Qais) against Aden”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1954), pp. 247-257).

⁷ Marit Kretschmar, *Pferde und Reiter im Orient: Untersuchungen zur Reiterkultur Vorderasiens in der Seldschukenzeit* (Hildesheim, New York: Olms Presse, 1980), pp. 86-98.

⁸ Ptak, “Pferde auf See”, p. 209.

⁹ Cf. Digby, *War-horse and Elephant in the Dehli Sultanate*, p. 29, and the article of Ranabir Chakravarti in this volume.

The last type enjoyed the highest esteem, but, as in China, obviously no distinction was drawn between Arab and Iranian horses. We may temporarily affirm that high-grade horses were especially estimated as export items from the Middle Eastern region; they were called *bahrī*-horses.

It is not clear when these exports started, but we may assume that they became increasingly important in the course of the 13th century.¹⁰ Benjamin of Tudela, who describes the Persian Gulf and India in the latter half of the 12th century, knows nothing of horse trade in that region or does not mention it – he lists no horses among the commodities bartered.¹¹ However, Iran was already in the seventh century well-known for producing the ‘noblest’ horses,¹² and overseas trade may also be assumed for this early period. High-quality horses (“thousand-mile-horses” = *qianli ma* 千里馬) were famous during the Tang dynasty and some of them were even brought to China as tribute.¹³ Horse trade from the western part of the Indian Ocean continued in the centuries thereafter. According to Zhou Qufei 周去非 Arab horses were exported to Quilon in the 12th century,¹⁴ and we can read in the “Description of All Barbarians” (*Zhufan zhi* 諸蕃志) written by Zhao Rugua 趙汝超 a few decades later in 1225 that in Oman, which is situated on the southern side of the Persian Gulf and which took an increasingly important position in the Indian Ocean trade from this time onwards, horses, pearls and dates were bartered for cloves, cardamon seeds and camphor.¹⁵ In addition Zhao Rugua regarded “good horses” (*haoma* 好馬) (and pearls) as the major local product of Kish – the most important emporium of the region during that time. Hormuz took its place in the early 14th century.¹⁶ These horses were certainly not bred on the tiny island of Kish itself, but were imported from places on the mainland, both Iran and the Arab Peninsula. However, when in Chinese texts the *Zhufan zhi* commodities are described as products of a certain place and which could impossibly have been produced there, one can suppose that they stood out among the other wares. Thus, horses were probably of great importance for the trade of Kish. For these reasons, it can be safely assured that at the turn from the 12th to the 13th century horses were already exported from the Persian Gulf.

The horse trade was promoted by several historical developments in the course of the 13th and 14th centuries.

First, the Mongols under their leader Hülegü conquered large parts of the Middle East (Bagdad fell in 1258 and the Abbasid dynasty met its end) and the approximate area of modern Iran became the centre of the Ilkhanid dynasty. Hülegü and Qubilai, conqueror of the Southern Song dynasty, were both sons of Tolui, himself the youngest son of Chingis Khan. This close relationship between the Ilkhanids and the Yuan rulers in China resulted in a strong increase of interactions between both regions which also positively influenced the export of horses to China.¹⁷ Ilkhanids and Yuan rulers were both hostile towards the *ulus* Chaghadaï in between, and the overland traffic along the Silk Road was consequently often interrupted, especially in the

¹⁰ For Arab horses see Kretschmar, *Pferde und Reiter im Orient*, p. 120-121.

¹¹ Benjamin of Tudela (author), Marcus Nathan Adler (ed.), *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Critical Text, Translation and Commentary* (rpt. New York: Philipp Feldheim, 1965), pp. 62-3) lists the following commodities brought from Shinar (Mesopotamia), Yemen and Persia to the port of Kish in the Persian Gulf for trade with India: “silk, purple and flax, cotton, hemp, worked wool, wheat, barley, millet, rye, and all sorts of food, and lentils of every description...”, the merchants from India brought spices for exchange.

¹² André Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World, vol. 2, The Slave Kings and the Islamic Conquest, 11th-13th Centuries* (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997), p. 85.

¹³ Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, Song Qi 宋祁, *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), j. 221b, p. 6262.

¹⁴ Almut Netolitzky, *Das Ling-wai tai-ta von Chou Ch'ü-fei: Eine Landeskunde Südchinas aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*, Münchener Ostasiatische Studien 21 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977), p. 41.

¹⁵ Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill (eds., tr.), *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-fan-chi* (rpt. Taipei: Ch'eng-Wen Publishing Company, 1970), p. 133; Zhao Rugua 趙汝超 (author), Yang Bowen 楊博文 (ed.), *Zhufan zhi jiaoshi* 諸蕃志校釋, Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), j. shang, p. 108; Ptak, “Pferde auf See”, pp. 205-206.

¹⁶ Hirth/Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 134; Zhao Rugua/Yang Bowen, *Zhufan zhi jiaoshi*, p. 108; for the significance of Kish see Ralph Kauz, “The Maritime Trade of Kish during the Mongol Period”, in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan, Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts 64* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 51-67.

¹⁷ Thomas T. Allsen, *Conquest and Culture in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 41ff. Among the presens of the Ilkhanid ruler Abū Sa'īd (1316-35) to the Yuan emperors horses were found in several cases (ibid., p. 44).

14th century. Journeys overseas, though exhausting and dangerous, were thus preferred; Marco Polo for example preferred to return by boat.

Second, the demand for horses in India increased immensely during the period mentioned for a number of reasons: establishment of the Delhi Sultanate, battles with invading Mongol forces, increasingly powerful Hindu states, as the Pandya kingdom and later the kingdom of Vijayanagara (since around 1340), and battles between these states and the Delhi Sultanate and its successors. It may not be too far-fetched to speak of a general structural militarization of the subcontinent.¹⁸ Cavalry turned out to be the major weapon used by the Delhi sultanate, and the Hindu states of the south (especially Vijayanagara) had to respond adequately if they wanted to prevail against this danger. The only way was to build up a large army integrated with a potent cavalry. Unfortunately, overland trade was often blocked, and the necessary horses had to be imported from overseas, from the Persian Gulf and the Arab Peninsula.¹⁹ The numbers of these horses will be outlined in more detail below, but it can be stated that they were enormous and the horse export to the east became a major component of the Indian Ocean trade from the 13th century onwards.

II

In the following sections descriptions of this horse trade will be given in order to depict the nature of the business before a final conclusion will be drawn. The chronological order of the reports will be neglected in favour of their structural resemblances.

The fame of the Persian Gulf as a provider of first-class horses is best illustrated by the ‘geography’ (*Daoyi zhilüe* 島夷誌略, 1349) of Wang Dayuan 汪大淵 who went twice to the seas and may even have been as far as the western part of the Indian Ocean.²⁰ In the sketch on Ganmaili 甘埋里, which should be Hormuz, horses and horse trade figure prominently. We read of special ‘horse-ships’ (*machuan* 馬船) which were larger than ordinary merchant vessels; on the lower hold frankincense was stowed as ballast and on their upper decks several hundred horses were allegedly carried. Wang Dayuan continues describing the high-class horses which “can run a thousand *li* in one day and one night”.²¹ When considering these statements, one may first doubt if frankincense can indeed serve as ballast, and second if the high number of “several hundred horses” reflects the factual load of horses. Some dozens may be closer to reality than this rather high number.²² Nevertheless, the remarks of the Chinese author show that the horse trade in the Persian Gulf was famous even in China.

The mode of transporting the horses is confirmed by Marco Polo who chose the overland route to China when seeing the Persian ships in the harbour of Hormuz. He described how the horses were loaded on top of the cargo with only some hides under their hooves.²³ The trade in horses and their export to India figures prominently in several places in his travelogue.²⁴

¹⁸ Cf. Hermann Kulke, Dietmar Rothermund, *Geschichte Indiens: Von der Induskultur bis heute* (Munich: C. H. Beck, ²1998), pp. 238-239, 246-247.

¹⁹ Digby, *War-horse and Elephant in the Dehli Sultanate*, p. 15; Chakravarti, “Horse Trade and Piracy at Tana”, pp. 179-180; Peter Feldbauer, *Estado da India: Die Portugiesen in Asien 1498–1620* (Wien: Mandelbaum, 2003), pp. 23, 44-45. Domingo Paes counted 35,000 cavalymen in 1522 (Kulke/Rothermund, *Geschichte Indiens*, p. 246) and Ludovico de Varthema 40,000 in the same period (Ludovico de Varthema (author), Folker Reichert (tr., ed.), *Reisen im Orient* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1996, p. 140).

²⁰ Wang Dayuan 汪大淵 (author), Su Jiqing 蘇繼廣 (ed.), *Daoyi zhilüe jiaoshi* 島夷誌略校釋, Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), pp. 364-369; Kauz/Ptak, “Hormuz in Yuan and Ming Sources”, pp. 39-40; W. W. Rockhill, “Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Archipelago and the Coasts of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century”, *T'oung Pao* 16 (1915), pp. 623-624. Rockhill identified Ganmaili 甘埋里 in Wang Dayuan's text with the Comoro Islands. However, it should be Hormuz.

²¹ Wang Dayuan/Su Jiqing, *Daoyi zhilüe jiaoshi*, p. 364.

²² Simon Digby, “The Maritime Trade of Asia”, in Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (eds.), *Cambridge Economic History of India, 1200–1710*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 128-129.

²³ Marco Polo (author), Henry Yule and Henri Cordier (eds., tr., com.), *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1991, rpt. of the 3rd edition), p. 108.

²⁴ Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, I, pp. 83-84.

In this country of Persia there is a great supply of fine horses; and people take them to India for sale, for they are horses of great price, a single one being worth as much of their money as is equal to 200 livres Tournois; some will be more, some less, according to the quality. [...] Dealers carry their horses to Kisi [Kish] and Curmosa [Hormuz], two cities on the shores of the Sea of India, and there they meet with merchants who take the horses on to India for sale.

Fortunately, the two famous historians of the Ilkhanids, Rashīd ad-Dīn Faḡlallāh and Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥaḡrat, related both the horse export from the then superior emporium of the Persian Gulf, Kish, to the kingdom of Ma'bar (viz. the Pāndyas) in the southeastern part of India. Rashīd ad-Dīn writes that the brother of Shaykh Jamāl ad-Dīn, ruler of Kish, Malik Taqī Allāh,²⁵ who was an important official in Ma'bar decided to acquire 1,400 horses from his brother's stud farms annually and send them to Ma'bar. Additionally, 10,000 horses should be bought from other places in the Gulf as Qaṭīf, Laḡsā, Baḡrayn, Hormūz, Kalahāt and others. The price for one horse should be 220 dinars and the merchants should be compensated for any loss or death of the horses. The annual price for these 10,000 horses was thus 2,200,000 dinars. In the historiography of Vaṣṣāf almost the same text can be found.²⁶ At first glance this transaction seems to be a deal between the two brothers at the expense of the treasury of the kingdom of Ma'bar, whose rulers, however, had to consent. According to the above mentioned numbers, if we make the generous calculation that 100 horses could have been loaded onto one ship, we could conclude that at least 100 "horse-ships" annually took to the sea from the Persian Gulf to Ma'bar!

It cannot be definitely decided in retrospect if the numbers of Rashīd ad-Dīn and Vaṣṣāf are exaggerated, and, if so, to what degree, but Marco Polo basically confirms Ma'bar's immense desire for horses. Furthermore, it should be taken into consideration that the need for horses was enormous in India, because of the above mentioned reasons and because of another factor which has not yet been mentioned: the horses were notoriously maltreated in India. Vaṣṣāf also observed this maltreatment and discussed it in some detail, maybe because he was himself amazed at the high numbers of horses transported to Ma'bar. Marco Polo mentions the lamentable handling of the horses in the southern Indian kingdom as well and sees the cause particularly in the lack of experienced horse-keepers who were certainly not dispatched together with the horses by the traders of the Persian Gulf.²⁷ Business prevailed over care for the equids. Vaṣṣāf describes the food given to them in India: butter roasted peas and cow's milk (perhaps because of the lack of grass?).²⁸ The Russian merchant Athanasius Nikitin who went to India in the second half of the 15th century lists quite similar food for horses: "Horses are fed on peas; also on *kichiris*, boiled with sugar and oil..."²⁹ Vaṣṣāf's commentary on this mode on feeding was translated by Hammer-Purgstall into the following verses:³⁰

Wer wird zum Fraß den Eulen Zucker geben
Und Papagei'n das Aas, davon zu leben?
Die Äser nimmt zum Mahle sich der Rabe,
Für Papageien ist der Zuckerkandel Gabe.
Wer wird dem Esel Perlenschmuck gewähren?
Wer wird den Stier mit Mandelbackwerk nähren?

Vaṣṣāf continues to list a number of maltreatments which resulted finally in the decline of the horses' strength. The Indian need for horses obviously increased, because they were not (or could not be) handled in

²⁵ Taqī ad-Dīn according to Vaṣṣāf.

²⁶ Rashīd ad-Dīn Faḡlallāh (author), Karl Jahn (tr., ed.), *Die Indiangeschichte des Raṣīd ad-Dīn: Einleitung, vollständige Übersetzung, Kommentar und 80 Texttafeln* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), p. 37; Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥaḡrat (Sheḡb ad-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. Faḡlallāh Shīrāzī), Muḡammad Maḡdī Eṣḡahānī (ed.), *Tārīkh-e Vaṣṣāf (Tajziyeh al-amṣār va tajziyeh al-a'sār)* (Tehrān: Ibn Sīnā, 1959/60, rptr. of the edition Bombay 1269h, 1853), pp. 301-302; see also Yokkaichi's article in this volume concerning this question.

²⁷ Marco Polo, II, p. 340.

²⁸ *Tārīkh-e Vaṣṣāf*, p. 302.

²⁹ Athanasius Nikitin, "The Travels of Athanasius Nikitin of Twer: Voyage to India", in R. H. Major (tr., ed.), *India in the Fifteenth Century: Being a Collection of Narratives of Voyages to India* (Frankfurt a. M.: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, 1994, rpt. of the edition London: Hakluyt Society, 1857), p. 10. *Kichrī* is made of rice, pulses and butter.

³⁰ Besides his "Geschichte Wassaf's" (Vienna 1856), the first chapter of Vaṣṣāf's opus, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall also translated the remaining four. This translation will be published by the Institute of Iranian Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in due course. The citation can be found on p. 602 of the typescript.

a proper and healthy way. However, the blame should not be put on the Indian horse-keepers alone because the climate and conditions certainly also played a part in it.³¹ The Iranian and Arab merchants exploited this maltreatment and/or the bad condition of the horses in India because it stimulated their business. However, the high numbers given by Rashīd ad-Dīn and Vaṣṣāf may still raise doubts.

The depictions of the two Ilkhanid historians give rise to the supposition that the horse trade was a variety of export which made its profits rather by mass export than by such high-grade products (viz. horses) as outlined above. The merchants of Kish and other places seem to have been interested in selling as many horses as possible to the Ma'bar rulers while disregarding the health and condition of the animals. Remarks of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the famous Arabian traveller from the Maghreb, point again another way. He lists the prices which horses of different origins could fetch in India in the years 1334–1340: race horses from Yemen, Arabia and Fars surpass Tatari horses by far. The first kind of horses achieved prices from 1000 to 4000 *tanka*, while an exceptional Tatari horse cost only 500 and an ordinary one 100 *tanka*.³² Thus a *bahrī*-horse stood out among the other horses, but it should be taken into consideration that these horses were used for racing and not for warfare. They were thus explicitly luxury items. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes how the Tatari horses worth 100 or 500 *tanka* were driven in herds of about 6,000 from Central Asia to India.³³ These were horses mainly used for war. However, here it should be stressed again that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's depiction goes only for Northern India;³⁴ the Hindu kingdoms in the south had to look for supplies overseas which would certainly not consist solely of first-class thoroughbreds, but also of good horses fit for warfare.

Horse exports continued after the fall of the Ilkhanids in 1335, but much less information on the topic has survived until today. It is only possible to draw indirect conclusions on this trade. Hormuz became the major emporium in the Persian Gulf at the beginning of the 14th century and remained so until it was captured and occupied by Afonso de Albuquerque in 1515.³⁵ The horse exports must thus have been carried out from this place and in Portuguese texts a number of hints on this trade can be found,³⁶ but for the time before, the extent of the trade can be only presumed. "Horse at sea" must have been a very common feature during the Chinese maritime expeditions (1405–1433), when even cavalry was taken to sea,³⁷ but, probably more important, horses were also transported from west to east crossing the entire Indian Ocean.³⁸ The trade with China in the course of these expeditions was certainly profitable for Hormuz and horses constituted a major part of it. Thus it was acknowledged especially by the Chinese government when a Hormuzian arrived in 1442 at the Chinese court and presented horses as tribute. He asked if the close relations of the previous years could be resumed (which was not the case).³⁹ In the middle of the 15th century, horses could thus still be transported all the way from Hormuz to China.⁴⁰

Horse trade was a common feature in the Persian Gulf during the period mentioned and probably every ship which passed the Strait of Hormuz carried horses on its deck. 'Abd ar-Razzāq Samarqandī, who was sent as ambassador to Calicut by the Timurid ruler Shāhrukh from 1442 to 1445, narrates vividly how they

³¹ Cf. Otto Spies, *An Arab Account of India in the 14th Century: Being a Translation of the Chapters on India from al-Qalqashandī's Ṣubḥ ul-a'shā* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1936), p. 47.

³² Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (author), H. A. R. Gibb (tr., rev., annot.), *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325-1354: Translated with Revisions and Notes from the Arabic Text Edited by C. Deffrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti*, Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser. 110, 117, 141, 178, 190, 5 vols. (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1958-2000), II, p. 479 (four *tanka* were worth one Moroccan dinar in gold (ibid.), the weight of an Indian *tanka* was 10.76 g); Ziyā' ad-Dīn Baranī gives in his *Tārīkh-e Fīrūz Shāhī* the following prices for horses in the first years of the 14th century: first class 100–120, second class 80–90, third class 65–70 *tanka* (cited in Chakravarti, "Horse Trade and Piracy at Tana", pp. 171-172 and Digby, *War-horse and Elephant in the Dehli Sultanate*, pp. 37-41; Digby discusses the prices and their differences at length).

³³ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, II, p. 478.

³⁴ Digby describes in his *War-horse and Elephant in the Dehli Sultanate*, p. 41, how the supply of horses deteriorated also in the Delhi Sultanate at the end of the 14th century.

³⁵ For a history of Hormuz see Jean Aubin, "Les princes d'Ormuz du XIIIe au XVe siècle", *Journal Asiatique* 241 (1953), pp. 77-138; id., "Le royaume d'Ormuz au début du XVIe siècle", *Mare Luso-Indicum* (1973), pp. 77-179.

³⁶ I refer again to the article of Rui Loureiro in this volume.

³⁷ Ma Huan/Mills, *Ying-yai Sheng-lan*, p. 31.

³⁸ Cf. the detailed study of Ptak, "Pferde auf See", pp. 207-227.

³⁹ Kauz/Ptak, "Hormuz in Yuan and Ming Sources", pp. 53-54.

⁴⁰ It must be admitted that the envoy might have bought the horses en route, though it cannot be definitely decided.

entered the ships in Hormuz with the horses and how he became weak because of the bad smell.⁴¹ It should be reaffirmed: probably with the only exception of the comfortable Chinese ships at the time of the expeditions, it was the most normal feature to take to sea together with horses when leaving ports at the western end of the Indian Ocean. Athanasius Nikitin, the already mentioned Russian merchant, was thus also advised to take a stallion with him as a commodity when he left Hormuz for India. This horse, obviously of high class, cost Nikitin considerable trouble and he had to keep it for one year before he was able to sell it. But these difficulties were mainly the result of his position as a foreigner and non-Muslim.⁴²

The common shipment of men and horses in the Persian Gulf area remained customary well into the 19th century and this custom was often disadvantageous for the passengers. The German traveller Max von Oppenheim complained about these conditions in 1893 as the Timurid Samarqandī had done more than 400 years previously.⁴³

CONCLUSION

When discussing economic and commercial history, it is often impossible to describe the factual quantitative extent. Unfortunately, this is also the case with the above outlined topic. Without doubt, horses were a major means for both transport and warfare, and regions which lacked for any reasons these means were eager to acquire them. Horses were especially scarce in the southern part of India because of difficulties in breeding and keeping them. Additionally, horses from the Persian Gulf region (and the Arab Peninsula) were of higher class than those from elsewhere. Thus, an expected flow of horses existed from the Persian Gulf to India and further on. In various contemporaneous texts respective clues can consequently be found. But here the logic comes to an end and further questions remain unanswered: what was the share of the horse trade in the entire trade? How did the horse trade develop through the centuries? The supply of horses could be significant or even crucial for warfare – was this ever exploited? Many other questions may be added.

However, some facts can be ascertained: the horse trade with India flourished, and horses were especially welcomed in South India (Ma'bar and probably later Vijayanagara which was especially well-armed). Several thousand horses (maybe up to ten thousand) left the Persian Gulf annually for India and further on and constituted besides “common” merchandise as coral, pearls and frankincense, an important export item, probably not deserving much special attention in the eyes of contemporaries.

The horses of that region could be counted among the best worldwide and were accordingly longed for (and expensive). As the case of Nikitin proves, even one horse could be worth the transport costs. Might the international request for high-class horses have possibly stimulated the breeding process? But the horses were certainly not always of the highest class: horses suitable for war were also needed. We may conclude in stressing again that horses were a natural commodity on the ships heading from the Persian Gulf to the east for centuries – they formed an important and integral part of the economy, trade and culture of the Indian Ocean society.

⁴¹ Kamāl ad-Dīn ʿAbd ar-Razzāq Samarqandī (author), Muḥammad Shafīʿ (ed.), *Maṭlaʿ as-saʿdayn wa majmaʿ al-baḥrayn* (Lahore 1946–1949), p. 769; an analysis of this travelogue can be found in Muzaffar Alam, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007), pp. 54–82.

⁴² Nikitin, “The Travels of Athanasius Nikitin of Twer”, pp. 8–15.

⁴³ Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf durch Haurān, die Syrische Wüste und Mesopotamien*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim e. a.: Georg Olms, 2004, rpt. of the edition Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1899), II, pp. 115, 307; On p. 307 we can read: “Die Verschiffung der arabischen Pferde nach Indien ist ein einträgliches Geschäft für die Schifffahrtsgesellschaft, der die Rücksicht gegen europäische Kajütenpassagiere [...] zum Opfer fallen muss.”

Portuguese Involvement in Sixteenth Century Horse Trade through the Arabian Sea

Rui Manuel LOUREIRO¹

THE PORTUGUESE *ESTADO DA ÍNDIA*

The Portuguese travelled to India by the sea route during the final years of the fifteenth century, allegedly in search of “Christians and spices”. That was the explanation given by one of Vasco da Gama’s crew members upon arrival at Calicut in 1498,² and there is no reason to doubt that this assertion summarised the main objectives of the Portuguese Crown. The extraordinary success of the first and exploratory expedition to India, together with the information collected on site, convinced the Portuguese Crown that it would be feasible to establish a permanent outpost along the Indian west coast, from where spices and other luxury wares, such as porcelain and silk, could be regularly exported to Europe. The Portuguese Oriental enterprise, however, rapidly began to enlarge, not only involving a growing amount of human and material resources, but also expanding geographically from the Indian west coast in all directions of the compass.

As it turned out, the Portuguese also understood that sizeable profits could not be obtained if trading activities were restricted to local scenarios. The mechanics of the monsoons and the geographic distribution of the production centres forced them to plan large scale “interventions” which would involve the African shore and the entire northern half of the Indian Ocean. At the same time they discovered the immense potential of regional networks; these often required limited investments, but yielded returns much larger than the ones drawn from the long and dangerous Cape route, where a round trip took no less than eighteen months.

Fifteen years after Vasco da Gama arrived in India, the Portuguese had thus made contact with the more important Oriental port-cities, from Sofala, on the Swahili coast, to Guangzhou, on the Chinese mainland; Portuguese strongholds had been established in strategic locations, such as Hormuz, Goa and Malacca, under the command of Afonso de Albuquerque; a permanent Portuguese naval force was operating in the Arabian Seas, trying to control the most significant maritime lanes; and an administrative structure was being organized to manage a growing array of political and economic interests. The Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, for decades to come, would be a permanent feature of maritime Asia’s politics and commerce.³

THE HORSE TRADE IN THE ARABIAN SEAS

The Portuguese came from a culture where horses were present in daily life. Many of the men embarking for India in the sixteenth century, whatever their social status, had had previous contacts with horses, whether for transportation, work, enjoyment, or war. Horsemanship was common among most of the nobles and among men with a military background.⁴ Dealing with horses, then, was nothing extraordinary for the Portuguese in India; they just had to adapt their own practices to a new social and ecological environment.

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² Álvaro Velho (author), Luís de Albuquerque (ed.), *Relação da viagem de Vasco da Gama* (Lisbon: Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1989), p. 51.

³ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700. A Political and Economic History* (London: Longman, 1993), pp. 55-79.

⁴ Thomas F. Arnold, “Diverging Military Cultures of East and West – The Very Long Sixteenth Century”, *Mare Liberum* (Lisbon) 20 (2000), p. 62: “Horsemanship was a lingua franca.”

This explains why references to horses do not abound in Portuguese written sources originating from India in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Notwithstanding, several topics can be properly documented.

Portuguese imperial strategy involved the gathering of intelligence about the most important maritime routes and about the circulation of profitable merchandises. Early Portuguese observers of Oriental realities, such as Tomé Pires and Duarte Barbosa, who wrote global ethno-geographic accounts of Asia around 1515-1516, immediately identified horses as one of the most important commodities being regularly exchanged across the Arabian Sea, both in terms of the revenues and the political leverage they could generate.⁵

Horses were in great demand on the Indian subcontinent, on account of their use and abuse in the constant wars fought between the Indian princes, especially among the Muslim sultanates of the Deccan, and between some of these and the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar. To assess the importance of the Indian markets, suffice it to say that it was not uncommon for cavalry forces in Indian polities to range within the tens of thousands. A Portuguese horse-dealer who travelled to Bisnaga, or Vijayanagar, in the 1520s, observed that the ruler of that South Indian empire possessed no less than 20,000 horses.⁶

Apart from the many military conflicts, ecological conditions in much of India, especially the tough climate and animal diseases, contributed to the drastic reduction of a local horse's life span. Hence, Tomé Pires' statement in his *Suma Oriental* that horses were "worth a high price in the kingdoms of Goa, of the Deccan and of Narsinga", and that "heavy dues were paid on them".

Although horses were bred in some regions of Gujarat, these animals were generally considered inferior to the ones coming from Persia and Arabia. In the words of Tomé Pires: "The best are the Arabians, next the Persians and third are those from Cambay."⁷ Later Portuguese authors confirmed this judgement. The experienced soldier Francisco Rodrigues da Silveira, referring to Gujarat in the 1590s, wrote that "the horses produced in those parts are worthless and not even good to run away from the enemy"; and he continued: "Only Arabian and Persian horses are of any effect."⁸ The chronicler António Bocarro, in the early years of the seventeenth century, also concluded: "The horses of this land of Arabia are judged to be the finest and the strongest in all of Asia."⁹

Already in pre-Portuguese times, a regular trade in horses had developed in the Arabian Sea, originating from several ports around the Strait of Hormuz, such as Masqat and Hormuz itself, where Arab and Persian horses were collected for export to India. Contemporary Portuguese reports acknowledge the extraordinary importance of Hormuz in the context of these trade relations. According to Tomé Pires, in that island paramount to all other merchandises "are Arabian and Persian horses".¹⁰ Duarte Barbosa states that from "Arabia a great number of horses come, which they carry hence to India".¹¹ He adds that the merchants from

⁵ In recent years, besides generic references in Jean Aubin, "Le royaume d'Ormuz au début du XVI^e siècle", in his *Le Latin et l'Astrolabe*, 3 vols. (Lisbon and Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian and Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1996-2006), II, pp. 117-118 and 168-170, M. N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India. Studies from the Portuguese Records* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1981), pp. 78-80 and 90-91, and José Marinho dos Santos, *A Guerra e as Guerras na Expansão Portuguesa – Séculos XV e XVI* (Lisbon: Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1998), pp. 219-234, only an article by R. R. S. Chauhan, "The Horse Trade in Portuguese India", *Purabhilekh-Puratatva* (Panaji, Goa) 2.1 (1984), pp. 14-24, was dedicated to the problem of horse trade within the *Estado da Índia*. Meanwhile, João Manuel Teles e Cunha also devoted some pages of his unpublished M.A. dissertation to that topic: *Economia de um Império: Economia política do Estado da Índia em torno do Mar Árabe e Golfo Pérsico (elementos conjunturais, 1595-1635)* (Lisbon: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1995), pp. 405-416.

⁶ David Lopes (ed.), *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1897), p. 114.

⁷ Armando Cortesão (ed. and tr.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1990), I, pp. 21 and 62.

⁸ Francisco Rodrigues da Silveira (author), Benjamim N. Teensma, Luís Filipe Barreto and George Davison Winus (eds.), *Reformação da milícia e governo do Estado da Índia Oriental* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1996), pp. 207-208.

⁹ António Bocarro (author), Isabel Cid (ed.), *O livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações*, 3 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, Casa da Moeda, 1992), II, p. 51: "Os cavallos desta provincia de arábia se tem pellos milhores e mais fortes que há em todo o oriente."

¹⁰ Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, I, p. 20.

¹¹ Mansel Longworth Dames (ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1918-1921), I, p. 94.

Hormuz sail to many ports in Arabia to fetch horses, especially to the Omani coast, where there are “many very excellent horses”, and “send them to India”.¹² Indian ports such as Chaul, Dabhol, Goa and Bhatkal prospered from this trade, until the arrival of the Portuguese on the scene. Around 1512 Afonso de Albuquerque wrote to the Portuguese King stating that: “The trade in horses yields incredible profits, because bringing them from Hormuz and from the coast of Arabia to Goa it is possible to gain 300, 400 or 500 percent.”¹³

The importance of the horse trade was also on Afonso de Albuquerque’s mind when he decided to conquer Goa in 1510 and to establish in that territory the strategic centre of Portuguese operations in Asia. Several of his subsequent reports to King Dom Manuel I testify to this, namely a long letter written in December 1513, where he explains the steps taken to try and secure for the Portuguese Crown the monopoly of horse importations to West India. In the first place, several Portuguese vessels were dispatched to the Arabian Sea to compel “all the ships from Hormuz with horses” to sail to Goa; as a result, that same year more than 400 horses, “very fine and very expensive”, were brought thither. Then, Albuquerque ordered the building of large stables near to the port, enrolling 300 men to feed and treat the horses. Furthermore, all the merchants bringing horses to Goa were treated with utmost respect and given preferential treatment, when they wanted to buy normal supplies or export merchandise.¹⁴

But some harsh measures were also taken by the Portuguese. The well-known policy of issuing *cartazes* (a kind of licence or passport) to Indian vessels was implemented in an effort to control major trade routes, including those linking India with the Persian Gulf. Trading ships sailing without a *cartaz*, or proceeding to Indian ports other than Goa, ran the risk of being intercepted and having all their cargo confiscated by the Portuguese.¹⁵ However, on their homebound voyage from Hormuz to India, ships carrying horses were entitled to receive free *cartazes*. Furthermore, “merchants from Hormuz” were exempt from duties on all the textiles they acquired in Goa for the horses they brought. And if a ship carried ten or more horses, its owner was exempt from taxes on all other merchandise on board his vessel. This exemption was granted even if some of the horses had died during the voyage.¹⁶

Under Portuguese control, Goa soon became India’s main gate for Arabian and Persian horse imports, to the detriment of other ports. Referring to Dabhol and Chaul around 1515, Tomé Pires wrote: “These people who were so prosperous are watching their wealth fade away.”¹⁷ The establishment of a Portuguese protectorate over the kingdom of Hormuz in 1515 (pl. 35) strengthened the position of Goa even further, because it was now possible for the Portuguese to control or at least monitor the movement of horses at both ends of the route, and thus to increase profits from that trade.

From then on, and throughout the sixteenth century, the Portuguese were deeply involved in the horse trade passing through the Arabian Sea. In Hormuz as in Goa, official horse-brokers (*corretor-mor dos cavalos*) enrolled by the Portuguese Crown controlled and taxed all sales of horses; Portuguese Crown factors were established in Chaul, Dabhol and Bhatkal, in order to sell *cartazes* to local traders, and the Portuguese royal custom houses at Hormuz and Goa received a steady income from tax regulations applied to the horse trade. In 1527, an anonymous civil servant writing to the Portuguese King summarized the

¹² Ibid., I, p. 70.

¹³ Henrique Lopes de Mendonça and Raimundo António Bulhão Pato (eds.), *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque e documentos que as elucidam*, 7 vols. (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1884-1935), I, p. 410: “O trato dos cavalos é um ganho desordenado, porque se ganha trezentos por cento e quatrocentos por cento e quinhentos por cento d’Ormuz e da costa d’Arábia a Goa, afora os direitos que pagam os cavalos na Índia.”

¹⁴ Ibid., I, pp. 152-154.

¹⁵ Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (ed.), *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*, 6 vols. (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), V, pt. 1, pp. 18, 29-30, 53.

¹⁶ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Les Finances de l’État Portugais des Indes Orientales (1517-1635)* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982), p. 127.

¹⁷ Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, I, p.53.

situation in the following way: “The most valuable thing Your Highness has in India is the revenue from the horses that come from Hormuz to Goa.”¹⁸

THE LOGISTICS OF THE HORSE TRADE

The transportation of horses by ship raises some interesting problems, which are rather hard to solve, however, since Portuguese sources seldom reflect on such practical matters. What kind of ships were used as horse carriers? Afonso de Albuquerque, in a letter to King Manuel I (1514), sketched one of his most daring projects: to raid the holy cities of Mecca and Medina with a Portuguese cavalry force, “to steal its many treasures” and also the body of “the Prophet”, which would then be used “to ransom the Holy House of Jerusalem”. To accomplish this incredible plan, he proposed “to take 400 horses in *taforeas*” to one of the Arabian ports in the Red Sea.¹⁹

The *taforeia* was a special type of *nau*, provided with a door at either side of the stern, to which a bridge could be attached, in order to allow the embarking of horses.²⁰ The word seems to appear for the first time in print in the *Crónica de el-Rei Dom João II*, by Garcia de Resende (Lisbon, 1545), referring to the dispatch from Lisbon to Morocco in 1488 of a large force of men and horses in “thirty caravels and *taforeas*”.²¹ Several sixteenth-century Portuguese documents mention *taforeias* in the context of navigation through the Arabian Sea, but no details are added, with only one exception, where a *taforea de quinhentos toneis* used by Governor Lopo Vaz de Sampaio in the 1520s is referred to.²² Furthermore, sometimes, Portuguese *naus* are named “Taforeia grande” or “Taforeia Pequena”, but these ships, apparently used exclusively by the Portuguese, are nowhere described.²³

Another source, in 1546, mentions “one *cotia* with horses” coming from Hormuz.²⁴ Nautical terminology in Portuguese early and mid sixteenth-century sources is rather confusing and the technical characteristics of different types of vessels are rarely disclosed. Yet, in some sources the *cotia* is defined as a light sailing vessel, with two masts.²⁵ More conclusive evidence only becomes available much later – through a drawing included in the *Itinerario* of the Dutch traveller and spy Jan Huygen van Linschoten. The first edition of this travelogue (Amsterdam, 1595) contains a large map of Goa which shows several “champanas & cotias de

¹⁸ António Dias Farinha, “Os Portugueses no Golfo Pérsico (1507-1538)”, *Mare Liberum* (Lisbon) 3 (1991), p. 25: “a maior cousa que Vosa Alteza tem na India he o rendimento dos cavalos que vem d’Ormuz a Guoa que rende oyntenta mill pardaos d’ouro.”

¹⁹ Afonso Brás de Albuquerque (author), Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão (ed.), *Comentários de Afonso de Albuquerque*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, Casa da Moeda, 1973), pt. 4, ch. 7: “determinava de levar quatrocentos cavallos em taforeas, e desembarcar no porto de Lumbo, e correr a casa de Meca e roubar todas os thesouros que havia nella, que eram muitos, e o corpo do seu mão Profeta, e trazelo pêra com elle se resgatar a Casa Sancta de Jerusalém: e podia-se fazer muito bem, porque em hum dia e meio podiam ir a Midina, onde os seus ossos estam” (pp. 39-40).

²⁰ Humberto Leitão and J. Vicente Lopes, *Dicionário da linguagem de marinha antiga e actual* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1974), p. 495.

²¹ Garcia de Resende, “Vida e feitos d’el-Rey Dom João segundo”, in Evelina Verdelho (ed.), *Livro das Obras de Garcia de Resende* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1994), ch. 76, p. 267: “mandou el-rey entam o dito Fernam Martinz Mazcarenhas, com trinta caravellas e taforeas e com elle cento e cincoenta de cavalo homees fidalgos e cavaleiros de sua guarda”. João Pedro Machado, *Influência árabe no vocabulário português*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Edição da Revista de Portugal, 1958-1961), II, p. 246, mentions the Arab “*taifuriâ*”, and also a probable Catalan origin for the Portuguese word. Cf. Henry and Renée Kahane, “El término mediterráneo *taforea* ‘buque para caballos’”, in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1950), pp. 75-89.

²² Francisco de Andrada (author), Manuel Lopes de Almeida (ed.), *Crónica de D. João III*, (Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1976), pt. 2, ch. 46.

²³ João de Barros (author), António Baião and Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra (eds.), *Ásia. Segunda Década* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, Casa da Moeda, 1974), bk. 3, ch. 5.

²⁴ Elaine Sanceau, Maria de Lourdes Lalande and Filomena Gonçalves Gomes (eds.), *Colecção de São Lourenço*, 3 vols. (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1973-1983), III, p. 189.

²⁵ Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Oriental*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1988), I, pp. 316-317.

gentios”, anchored in the Mandovi River (pl. 36).²⁶ Another source, the regulation for the Goa customs’ house (1522), mentions several types of ships bringing horses from Hormuz, namely: *naaos*, an indiscriminate large ship; *terradas* and *zambucos*, i.e., light sailing vessels, used to transport men and cargo up and down the Indian coast; and *cotias*, already mentioned.²⁷

Nothing is known about the process of loading and unloading horses from these ships without movable doors. According to one source referring to the Omani coast, in the early years of the sixteenth century, horses were taken on board only at Qalhat (Calaiate) and Masqat, where the waters were calm “enough” for such an operation.²⁸ Perhaps the ships in question had to anchor alongside some sort of quay, from which gangplanks could be placed. Or perhaps other methods were used. A Flemish tapestry bought by a Portuguese client in the early years of the sixteenth century suggests that horses were lifted by cranes.²⁹ But this method would be extremely slow if used in Hormuz, where hundreds of horses were dispatched each year.

Only some aspects of the living conditions on board horse-carrying ships can be collected from texts and illustrations. Friar Agostinho de Azevedo, an Augustinian who lived in Hormuz for several years in the 1590s, states that horses there were bled before embarkation, thus becoming “extremely tame and without any vice”. Inside the ships leaving Hormuz or Masqat for India, he continues, horses “were packed tightly together, in such a way that they couldn’t move”. While “they were at sea, they stood up all the time, never lying down during the entire journey”, because they were held in place with straps.³⁰ This brings to mind a drawing made in the Iberian Peninsula by Christoph Weiditz in the 1520s, which shows a horse on board some sort of ship, held by a strap around its belly.³¹

Other details about horse transportation in the Arabian Sea can be gathered from the works of Portuguese physicians and naturalists who lived in India. The famous Garcia de Orta, in his *Colóquios dos simples e drogas da Índia* (Goa, 1563) (pl. 37), mentions the *esquinanto*, a plant that “grows in Masqat and Qalhat (Calaiate)”, which the Portuguese call “straw of Mecca” or “grass of Masqat”. Large quantities of this plant are brought to India by “the horse merchants on board their ships”, which they use to cover the decks where the horses are kept, “to get rid of the foul smell of their urine and manure”. Moreover, during the sea journey, the wet straw “is thrown overboard and immediately replaced”.³² This information is confirmed fifteen years later by Cristóvão da Costa, in his *Tractado de las drogas e medicinas de las Indias orientales* (Burgos, 1578) (pl. 38), where it is stated that the Arabs call this plant *cachabar* and *haxis caçule*, and that it can be used to feed the horses.³³

²⁶ Jan Huygen van Linschoten (author), Arie Pos and Rui Manuel Loureiro (eds.), *Itinerário, viagem ou navegação de Jan Huygen van Linschoten para as Índias Orientais ou Portuguesas* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997), plate 6.

²⁷ Godinho, *Les Finances*, p. 127: “Todas as naos, terradas, huqueres, cotias, tavos e zambucos que de Urmuz vierem com cavalos”.

²⁸ Afonso Brás de Albuquerque, *Comentários*, pt. 1, ch. 21, p. 69.

²⁹ Maria Antónia Gentil Quina, “As Tapeçarias ‘À Maneira de Portugal e da Índia’”, in Teotónio R. de Souza & José Manuel Garcia (eds.), *Vasco da Gama e a Índia*, 3 vols. (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1999), III, pp. 395-429.

³⁰ Agostinho de Azevedo, “Estado da Índia e onde tem seu principio”, António da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa*, 5 vols. (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1960-1967), II, p. 114: “na embarcação se afinão e apurão, como ouro na fragoa, e ficão muy manso, e sem nenhuma ruim manha, e antes de os embarcarem sangrão nos, e na embarcação poem nos tan juntos e atados, que não pode hum bolir, que o não fação muitos [...] E enquanto vem no mar sempre vem em pee e nunca se deitão em toda a viagem, e assi dormem.”

³¹ Christoph Weiditz (author), Theodor Hampe (ed.), *Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994), plate lxii.

³² Garcia de Orta (author), Conde de Ficalho (ed.), *Colóquios dos simples e drogas da Índia*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, Casa da Moeda, 1987), II, pp. 311-312 (colloquy on *esquinanto*, *Andropogon laniger*, Desf.): “a mais della trazem nas naos os mercadores de cavalos pera lhe deitar aos pés, pera que nam cheire mal a orina e o esterco delles; e pera isto trazem fardos, porque como se molha e dana a erva, deitamna ao mar, e tornam a deitar outra aos pés dos cavallos.”

³³ Cristóvão da Costa (author), Jaime Walter (ed.), *Tratado das drogas e medicinas das Índias Orientais* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1964), p. 115: “Cacabar e haxis Caçule em Mascate, e em Calaiate, terra da Arábia.”

THE DARK SIDE OF THE HORSE TRADE

In spite of its importance, or maybe because it was so important, the horse trade was repeatedly discussed among the Portuguese in India and elsewhere. Papal bulls annually issued from Rome listed specific types of activities that went against the Christian faith, normally in the Mediterranean context, and among them was usually trading in forbidden goods with non-Christians. Some items of commerce were subject to debate, including horses, since they could be used as a weapon against Christian powers. In 1550, the Jesuit Nicolau Lancillotto alerted his European brethren to the fact that “all the Portuguese living in these parts [of India] traffic in weapons and horses, and in all other sorts of merchandise, with Muslims and Jews and all sorts of infidels, in times of peace as well as in times of war”. In view of the importance of such trade for the economic welfare of the Portuguese, he suggested that Jesuit authorities should request from the Pope a special dispensation, allowing these men “to trade in anything they wanted, without the risk of committing deadly sins or being excommunicated”.³⁴ Papal exemption was duly granted.³⁵

Apparently, this subject was then forgotten for several years, until in March 1568 the young and crusading King Sebastião issued a law forbidding his subjects, “whatever their quality or condition”, the sale to “Muslims and Heathens” of “weapons, copper, saltpetre, and other sensitive merchandise”, including horses, “under pain of death”.³⁶ The citizens of Goa went into quite a commotion, and all the Goan authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, prepared documents discussing the allegedly sinful potentialities of the business of trading horses with the infidels. The chronicler Diogo do Couto, who was living in India at the time, gave a summary of these debates in one of his *Décadas da Ásia* and he explained that the Portuguese, and especially “the residents of Goa and Chaul”, for decades “had been trading in Persian and Arabian horses” to sundry Indian kingdoms.

The arguments collected by both civil and religious authorities to justify the horse trade with Indian rulers, were manifold and summarise the mechanics of the trade. The Portuguese, it was explained, had been selling horses for more than half a century, between 1,500 and 2,000 animals each year, and those horses, as a rule were never used against Goa. On the contrary, they were employed by Indian rulers to attack each other, thus weakening their capacity to oppose Goa. Next, the horses sold in Goa had a brief life span, due to constant wars and the extreme climate, so that most Muslim and Hindu rulers constantly demanded new supplies. How could this endanger the Portuguese? Finally, revenues drawn from the horse trade were of paramount importance to the royal budget – and urgently needed to finance soldiers, fortresses and ships. As the theologians concluded, “it is suitable for the necessary and natural defence of the *Estado da Índia* to allow the passage and selling of these horses to the said infidels”.³⁷

In 1575 there was a follow up to these polemics, when the second Provincial Council of Goa gathered, under the direction of the much stricter Archbishop Dom Gaspar de Leão, to define the moral and religious principles that were to rule daily life in the *Estado da Índia*. One of the new decrees established that the Goan Christians were not allowed to take horses to the “infidels” in the Indian hinterland, on account that such practice, which until then had been frequent, caused “much spiritual and physical suffering”. Goans who disobeyed the Council’s rulings were deemed unworthy of the Christian name and were condemned to the confiscation of all their horses. Likewise, the Christians could not enter into partnership with local Muslim merchants to trade in horses with the territories of the “infidels”.³⁸

³⁴ Josef Wicki and John Gomes (eds.), *Documenta Indica*, 18 vols. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1948-1988), II, p. 130.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 186-188.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, X, p. 469.

³⁷ Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, *Diogo do Couto e a Década 8ª da Ásia*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, Casa da Moeda, and Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1993), I, p. 420.

³⁸ António da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação para a história das missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*. 12 vols. (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1949-1958), XII, pp. 306-307.

FINAL OBSERVATION

During the second half of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese Church and its many institutions inside the *Estado da Índia* gradually adopted more conservative positions in all matters related to the non-Catholic world. These developments mainly had to do with the spread of Protestantism in Europe. But by then, in India, traffic in horses passing through Goa had already thinned considerably, because one of the major clients of that trade, the empire of Vijayanagar, had left the scene in the late 1560s, after the battle of Talikota. Therefore, it appears plausible to assume that these events – and not necessarily the religious contest in Europe – were the principal reasons behind the many discussions which took place in Goa during that period. By 1580, revenues originating from the horse trade in Goa amounted to no more than about four percent of the Crown's total revenues,³⁹ when in the first decades of the century they had reached “about half the total revenue”.⁴⁰ As an anonymous Portuguese observer wrote in 1582, “the trade in horses has been decreasing steadily”.⁴¹

Yet, horses continued to arrive from Hormuz, because the Portuguese themselves continued to generate a steady demand for good animals. Contemporary witnesses testify that there were in Goa many “Cavalli di Arabia e Persia pretiosissimi ma cari”, as the Jesuit Francisco Pasio wrote in 1578.⁴² And a later French traveller, François Pyrard de Laval, who visited Goa in the early seventeenth century, stressed in his travelogue that “the Portuguese men of substance always go on horseback, because they have a large number of horses that come from Persia and Arabia, that are fine and good horses”.⁴³ But that is an entirely different story.

³⁹ Artur Teodoro de Matos, *Na Rota da Índia – Estudos de história da expansão portuguesa* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1994), p. 68.

⁴⁰ Pearson, *Coastal Western India*, p. 70.

⁴¹ Francisco Paulo Mendes da Luz (ed.), *Livro das cidades e fortalezas que a Coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da Índia* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1960), fl. 13v.

⁴² Wicki and Gomes, *Documenta Indica*, XI, p. 364.

⁴³ François Pyrard de Laval (author), Xavier de Castro and Geneviève Bouchon (eds.), *Voyage de Pyrard de Laval aux Indes orientales (1601-1611)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Chandeigne, 1998), p. 598.

Equestrian Demand and Dealers: The Early Indian Scenario (up to c. 1300)

Ranabir CHAKRAVARTI¹

I

The economic historiography of early India has recognized in recent decades the importance of trade and transactions in the making of the subcontinent's history which is often labeled as 'traditional' because of its predominantly rural and agricultural nature, rendering it with seemingly unchanging and immutable features over millennia. There is little controversy that the bulk of the Indian population, like that of the present, was engaged in agriculture, and therefore, those participating in the non-agrarian sector of the economy – like the merchants – formed a minority.² Even when the merchant is recovered from this historiographical marginality, discussions on the protracted history of commerce in the subcontinent generally revolves round a few beaten tracks: routes of communications (overland and sea-borne), items of trade – especially the sustained demand for Indian textiles, spices, ivory and precious gems and stones (e.g. pearls and diamonds) – professional bodies of merchants, coins and other media of exchange and suchlike. The steady importation of precious metals (e.g. gold and silver) and exotic spices / fragrances (cardamom, cinnamon, camphor, etc.) also loom large in the current literature on this subject. Many of these items being either agro-based and manufactured (handicraft) commodities, elaborate analyses of transactions in these goods also speak of the intimate linkages among the agrarian milieu, crafts production and commercial networks. All these have considerably enriched our understanding of the lively and changing patterns of commercial activities in the subcontinent during its 'early' phase (up to c. 1300 AD). One particular aspect, however, has so far received relatively less attention from the experts: the demand for and transactions in some domesticated animals which were considered extremely useful, especially to the well-off and powerful stratum in early Indian society. Needless to say, the cattle were absolutely indispensable to the teeming and ubiquitous Indian farmers. But there were also other domesticated animals serving the non-agrarian sector of the economy, often as beasts of burden; also for pulling or drawing wheeled vehicles over long distances to transport merchants and their merchandise; occasionally as mounts for pre-eminent and charismatic people for whom the animals were visible symbols of their power and prestige; and last but not least, animals associated with offensive-defensive operations. To this category would belong the donkey, the camel, the elephant and the horse, the last one being the principal subject of enquiry here.

The elephant and the horse stood in the center of prestigious and grand possessions – and, simultaneously, constituted a marker of the rich and noble. Often hidden from the ornamental eulogies of rulers and accounts of the fabulous wealth of merchants in ancient sources, there remains a different reality: these animals were reared, nurtured and procured for their ultimate users by herders and animal-breeders who often led a pastoral way of life, and hence were far removed, both spatially and culturally, from the sedentary society in rural and urban settlements alike. The sedentary sector assumes an overwhelming proportion in the history of a complex society such as that in India, while the non-sedentary groups like the hunter, the gatherer and the pastoralist often remain outside the gaze of historians. The availability and supply of elephants and horses to their users in a sedentary society involve a complex network of relationships and interaction among the pastoral communities, the wealthy clientele and those who enabled the delivery of these animals to their

¹ Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

² Ranabir Chakravarti (ed.), *Trade in Early India* (New Delhi, 2001), and *Trade and Traders in Early Indian Society* (New Delhi, 2007; second edition).

users. A discussion on the trade and traders in horses in early India therefore asks for an enquiry beyond the sedentary society. Though concrete linkages of the sedentary society with the pastoral world are only dimly visible in the case of India, the mobility of the pastoral groups and animal breeders (e.g. the *yoniposhakas* in the *Kautiliya Arthasastra*³), often along well-established and seasonal circuits, must have contributed to their regular communications and contacts with the sedentary society. While this may have conceptual validity, empirical substantiation in this regard is virtually impossible as our sources, mostly formal and written, rarely address the non-sedentary communities, located beyond cities and villages. Even when such non-sedentary groups figure in textual and epigraphic sources, they are presented at the most as a marginal entity to the mainstream agrarian society that consistently looks at pastoral and nomadic people and forest-dwellers with conspicuous contempt.⁴

It may be in order here to state a few preliminary points about the horse in India. The horse is indeed the fastest and the most prized means of communication prior to the advent of the Industrial Age that ushered in steam locomotion and petroleum-driven combustion engines. Yet, the most sought after horse, namely the top quality warhorse, was not indigenous to India. The best horses were brought to the subcontinent from elsewhere, beyond the subcontinent; what we discuss here is therefore essentially the importation of horses in India during the early period. The logical point that emerges from here is this was a trade in a scarce, precious and exotic commodity that catered to the needs and tastes of the elite groups, especially the political elite.⁵ One major impediment to this study is the problem of the nature of sources, something beyond the proverbial paucity of written sources of early India history. Empirical gleanings are rarely from the actual and direct statements / documentations on trade and traders in horses per se; relevant notices are often marginal to the principal content and purport of the sources; quantified data on trade in horses, so vital to the understanding of the 'horse economy', are a rarity in the range of our sources.

II

Several claims (some of dubious intention and methodology) of finding the presence of the horse in the first urban society in the subcontinent during the Harappan civilization notwithstanding, it is impossible to locate the horse in the Indian scenario – archaeologically and textually – prior to the second half of the second millennium BC. Although the antiquity of the domestication of the horse takes us back to Central Asia in c. 3500 BC, the animal does not figure in Indian literary tradition prior to the *Rigveda*, the earliest stratum of the Vedic corpus (c. 1500-1000 BC). The *Rigveda* shows a familiarity of the composers of the hymns with the areas watered by the river Indus and its tributaries, both to the west and east of the Indus. The text leaves a strong impression that its material life revolved around pastoralism, though agriculture was not unknown. The most important social wealth was cattle (*go*), closely followed by the significance attached to the horse (*asva*, Iranian *aspa*). While words connected with cattle occur as many as 175 times in the *Rigveda*, terms related to agriculture (*krishi*) figure merely on 21 or 23 occasions in the said text.⁶ In a society that was yet to be organized on the strict fourfold *varna* divisions, social life was organized into clans and tribes under chiefs and leaders who were often engaged in clashes and hostilities. One of the principal aims of engaging in war during the Rigvedic times was the capture of cattle and horses which were highly prized as war booties, a feature that typifies the attitude of a predominantly pastoral (or at the most an agro-pastoral) society. The composers of Rigvedic hymns showered praises on various divinities, particularly Indra (king of

³ *Yoniposhakas* figure in the *Arthasastra* (ed. and tr. with a study by R. P. Kangle in three parts, Bombay, 1966-1972), VI.2; the term is explained in the English translation of the text (part II) and also in part III of the work by Kangle.

⁴ The Maurya emperor's stern warning to the forest dwellers (*atavikas*) in his rock edict XIII is a case in point. For the text see D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1965), pp. 45-48. For an analysis see Romila Thapar, *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas* (New Delhi, 1996; second edition), especially the chapter on society and the economy.

⁵ Jos Gommans, "The Horse Trade in Eighteenth Century South Asia", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (now *JESHO*) 37 (1994), pp. 228-250, shows how the English East India Company's efforts to run a stud farm in Pusa (Bihar) proved abortive in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

⁶ R. S. Sharma, *Material Culture and Social Formations in Ancient India* (New Delhi, 1983).

gods) so that they helped human warriors defeat their enemies and capture the coveted booties.⁷ A typical case in point is the following Rigvedic account:

Yamuna and the Tritsus aided Indra. There he stripped Bheda bare of all his treasures. The Ajas and the Sigrus and the Yakshus brought in to him as tributes heads of horses.⁸

Paved with the rock is our treasure chamber, filled full of precious things, of kine and horses.⁹

Rigvedic hymns furthermore leave little room for doubt that horse-drawn chariots added to the efficacy of fighting forces, though cavalry does not figure therein. The intimate linkage of the Rigvedic society with the northwestern part of the subcontinent and the region around Afghanistan appears to have facilitated a steady supply of horses for speedy communications and wars in the Indus plains. There is little surprise that the *Rigveda* gives prominence to the chariot-maker (*rathakara*) who, one may logically perceive, should have been conversant with the horse that would pull the wooden chariot manufactured by him.¹⁰ The emergence and consolidation of a full-fledged sedentary society in the later Vedic times (c. 1000-600 BC) in the upper Ganga plains did not diminish in any way the significance of and demand for this animal. On the threshold of the state system, the later Vedic polity further highlighted the power and pre-eminence of the chieftain (*raja*) who was expected to perform elaborate Vedic sacrificial rituals to claim and gain a super-ordinate political status.¹¹ Two such sacrifices, the Vajapeya and the Asvamedha, revolved around the horse. The former included a mock chariot racing in which the sacrificing ruler would be made the winner. The imaginary victory of the would-be ruler in this mock chariot race may symbolically hark back to the remote memory of a time when chiefship of a tribe or clan in the Indo-European world could have been decided by winning a horse-driven chariot race. The second and more famous ritual required the formal letting loose of an auspicious horse from the chief's area for a year during which period it was expected to roam around unopposed through other chieftains' areas. This act symbolized the suzerainty of the sacrificer over other chiefs. The ritual ended with the sacrifice of the horse amidst very elaborate and prolonged Vedic rituals. The horse sacrifice accomplished, the sacrificing ruler claimed a superior position to his neighbouring powers.¹² The situation speaks of the growing availability of horses in the Ganga plains, brought there most probably from the northwestern part of the subcontinent. The efficacy of the horse in warfare and communication and in enhancing the prestige of the Vedic ruler now well established, there emerged professional groups taming or keeping horses. Labelled as *asvapas* (keeper, maintainer of horses) they probably functioned as professional trainers as well. Such horse- trainers appear in the longest and most elaborate list of professionals in the Vedic literature, namely in the *Vajasaneyi Samhita* (c. 750-700 BC). Interestingly enough, they were differentiated from elephant tamers or elephant-keepers (*hastipa*) and hunters in general (*mrigayumantakas*). The image of the social requirement of specialist trainers and keepers of horses gains some visibility in such accounts.

⁷ Ibid., and Ranabir Chakravarti, *Warfare for Wealth: Early Indian Perspective* (Calcutta, 1986), especially the chapter 'Clashes for Cattle' therein. It is significant to note, as pointed out by Sharma, that the Rigvedic ruler bore the epithet *gopati* or "lord of cattle"; it is only subsequently that the early Indian king assumed epithets like *bhupati* (lord of the soil), *nripati* (lord of men) and *mahipati* (lord of the earth). See R. S. Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India* (New Delhi, 1996; third edition), especially the essay, "From Gopati to Bhupati".

⁸ *Rigveda* VII.18.19, tr. by R. T. Griffith (Varanasi, 1963; fourth edition).

⁹ *Rigveda* X.108.7. For these tribes (*jana*, *vis*) mentioned above, see A. A. McDonell and A. B. Keith, *The Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, 2 vols. (Varanasi, 1962; reprint); *jana* in vol. I and *vis* in II.

¹⁰ The Central Asian Ural Bronze Age site Sintashta has yielded fascinating evidence of horse sacrifices along with bronze implements. The site has been dated to the period of c. 2000 to 1700 / 1600 BC. It was occupied by a pastoralist group. I am grateful to Dr. David Antony and Dr. Dorcas Brown for sharing their information about Sintashta with me at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, in 2006 even before their major publication on this subject. There are a few easily accessible websites giving basic information about Sintashta.

¹¹ Various references in Romila Thapar, *From Lineage to State* (Bombay, 1984); R. S. Sharma, *The Origin of the State in India* (Bombay, 1990).

¹² For an elaborate analysis of these Vedic sacrifices, see U. N. Ghoshal, *A History of Indian Political Ideas* (London, 1966); also, Kumkum Roy, *The Emergence of Monarchy in North India* (New Delhi, 1996).

The advent of the territorial polities (*mahajanapadas*) – mostly monarchies – for the first time in the sixth century BC in the greater parts of the Ganga valley brought about major changes to Indian society and politics. Parallel to the development of state society there also emerged urban centres in northern India which saw a significant proliferation of crafts and commerce. The Buddhist canonical texts and field archaeological data speak eloquently of the development of new urban economies, including the expansion of trade networks. In marked contrast to Vedic and Brahmanical traditions, the Buddhist and Jaina texts (*kṛaya*) show a positive attitude to trade and merchants.¹³ The great Sanskrit grammarian Panini (c. fifth to fourth centuries BC) too was clearly aware of the importance of trade (*vyavahara*, *kṛaya-vikṛaya*: transactions, purchase and sale) as one of the important components of burgeoning urban life. Illustrating grammatical rules with examples drawn from existing situations and experiences, Panini refers to various types of merchants. For the first time one encounters here two specific merchants, dealing in domesticated animals, the dealer in cattle (*govanija*) and the trader in horses (*asvavanija*).¹⁴ Hailing from the northwestern part of India, Panini seems to have been aware of the availability of quality horses in this region and the presence of merchants specializing as horse-dealers.

The demand for horses is likely to have increased with the consolidation of monarchical polities that commanded regular fighting forces. For the first time in Indian history, cavalry appeared as one of the established wings of the army of a monarchical polity. That cavalry formed a regular component of various Indian armies in the late fourth century BC is evident from the accounts of Alexander's encounters with Indian powers. The most formidable power in northern India, the kingdom of Magadha in the middle Ganga plains (described as the kingdom of Gangaridai) with its capital at Palibothra (Patna, in Bihar), is said to have possessed 80,000 horses (cavalry) in addition to 8,000 war chariots and a huge infantry.¹⁵ Even allowing for some obvious exaggeration in these figures (possibly to impress the strength upon a likely adversary), the Greek accounts did not miss the growing need for the supply of horses for the eastern Indian powers such as Magadha. It is in this background that one ought to situate Panini's knowledge about horse-dealers and the significance of the Gandhara region as a conduit for the supply of this coveted war-animal from the northwestern borderland of the subcontinent. With Vedic sacrificial rituals gradually losing their centrality in socio-political life during the post-600 BC days, it is very likely that more domesticated animals, including horses, became available now for purposes other than being killed at the Vedic sacrificial altars.

The expansion of Magadhan power reached its peak during the days of the Mauryan empire (c. 324-187 BC), the first power to have achieved a nearly pan-Indian political paramountcy, largely due to its invincible military machinery, a strong administrative system and an effective ideology of shaping an integrated subcontinental society. The Maurya army was not only vast, but also had a large contingent of cavalry, chariots and elephants along with a very sizeable infantry organized in separate units, as Megasthenes, the Seleucidian envoy to the Maurya court tells us. The Classical accounts further enlighten us on a specific board of five administrators looking after the different units of the army, including the cavalry.¹⁶ This has a bearing on the recommendation in the celebrated treatise on statecraft, the *Kautiliya Arthashastra*, for setting up specific administrative departments for both cavalry (*asvadyakṣa*) and chariots (*rathadyakṣa*) headed by high-ranking state functionaries. This is the first known instance of a prescription for setting up

¹³ Trade was thus lauded in the Buddhist canonical text as an excellent profession (*ukkatthakamma*), fit for persons born into excellent families. See, N. Wagle, *Society at the Time of the Buddha* (Bombay, 1967), especially chapter V of this book.

¹⁴ V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Panini* (Lucknow, 1951), pp. 238, 239 and 247; see Panini's sutra VI.2.13 (*gantavya panyam vanijye*). Panini seems to have been aware also of merchants in Gandhara (*gandhari-vanija*) and Madra (*Madra-vanija*), both areas noted for the availability of good quality horses.

¹⁵ R. C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India* (Calcutta, 1960), p. 198 (Plutarch's statement in the *Life of Alexander*, chapter LXII). The kingdom of Gangaridae is generally identified with the Nanda realm which made Magadha the premier power in North India. See K. A. Nilakantha Sastri (ed.), *The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* (Calcutta, 1952).

¹⁶ J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (Amsterdam, 1971; reprint), p. 55. There were, according to Megasthenes' observation, in all thirty functionaries – divided into six boards – that looked after the military administration of the realm.

administrative departments for the procurement and maintenance of horses, obviously with a view to strengthening the army.

Though Kautilya does not speak explicitly on horse-dealers, he demonstrates his awareness that best quality (*uttama*) horses – in other words, war-horses – came from the northwestern and western extremities of the subcontinent, and even from lands beyond the subcontinent: Kamboja (the Hazara area in Pakistan), Sindhu (the lower Indus valley), Aratta (the northern plains of the Punjab), Vanayu (Arabia), Bahlika (Bactria around the present Mazar-i-Sharif in Afghanistan) and Sauvira (the area adjacent to Sindhu in the lower Indus valley). The horses from Saurashtra on the Kathiawad peninsula of western India failed to impress the theoretician who dubbed them as belonging to an inferior breed.¹⁷

What strikes us here is his recognition that the supply of best war-horses came from Arabia and Bactria, the latter area geographically and culturally better linked up with Central Asia than with South Asia. The occupation of some parts of the northwestern sector of the subcontinent by the Achaemenid rulers of Iran (c. late sixth to late fourth centuries BC) and the Macedonian incursion (327-324 BC) paved the way for interactions between South Asia and West Asia. This was continued in the Maurya times. The inclusion of Kabul (Paropanisadae), Kandhar (Arachosia) and Baluchistan (Gedrosia) in the Maurya empire is evident from the Classical accounts and also by the discovery of Asoka's edicts from Afghanistan.¹⁸ Eratosthenes, a younger contemporary of Asoka, speaks of a royal road that connected Susa in Iran with Palibothra, the Maurya capital. That this road passed through northern Afghanistan is confirmed by the discovery of two Asokan edicts from Laghman, specifically referring to a royal road (*karapathi*).¹⁹ The expansive contacts – both commercial and cultural – of the Maurya empire with West Asia seems to have enabled the Maurya rulers to avail themselves of imported horses from areas beyond the subcontinent, a point well appreciated in the *Arthashastra*.

No less significant is Megasthenes' observation on the herders and hunters of India (the third group in his seven-fold classification of Indian people) who were required to pay a portion of their domesticated and hunted animals as their due / tribute to the state.²⁰ This in a way suggests the Maurya emperor's interests in appropriating some resources from the pastoral, nomadic and hunting groups, which certainly lived beyond the agrarian sedentary society, the principal resource base of the empire.²¹ But for the regular interactions with these nomadic and pastoralist groups, the likely breeders and suppliers of domesticated animals, the Director of Horses / Cavalry (*asvadyaksha*) could not have prepared, as per the *Arthashastra* guideline, meticulous details of different grades of horses fit for the royal military establishment. In the recommendations of the *Arthashastra* an impression was seen earlier of a monolithic and unitary Maurya state system that intended to assume a managerial role and impose a strict control on the supply of horses. This reading, however, is open to question when other sources are taken into consideration; it is therefore unlikely that the Maurya state exercised a monopoly control on the import trade in horses.

III

The northwestern areas of the subcontinent experienced remarkable cultural, commercial and political linkages with Central and West Asia from 200 BC, with the successive political control of the Bactrian Greeks, the Sakas, the Pahlavas and the Kushanas over this area. Particularly significant was the rule of the Kushanas from their principal stronghold in Bactria (capital Bactra, modern Mazar-i-Sharif, Afghanistan),

¹⁷ Kautilya *Arthashastra*, see the section on Asvadyaksha (II, 30).

¹⁸ B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in the Aramaic Edicts of Asoka* (Calcutta, 1984).

¹⁹ Ibid., especially the two edicts from Laghman.

²⁰ McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 42

²¹ Romila Thapar, *The Mauryas Revisited* (Calcutta, 1987); G. Bongard Levin, *Mauryan India* (New Delhi, 1985). The Mauryan state control on economy, including trade, figures prominently in U. N. Ghoshal, *A History of Indian Public Life*, vol. II (Bombay, 1966) and R. S. Sharma, *Perspectives in the Social and Economic History of Early India* (New Delhi, 1983). The Mauryan interests in the pastoral and forest resources and trade may be seen in the inclusion of *vraja* (pasture grounds) and *vana* (forests) and *vanikpatha* (trade routes) in the seven heads of revenue in the *Arthashastra* (II.6). Megasthenes (McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 43) also emphasizes the revenue yielding potentials of pastoralists and forest dwellers to the Maurya state.

extending to the Oxus in the north, considerable parts of the southern Silk Road, Kashmir, the northwestern borderlands of the subcontinent and over the western parts of the Ganga plains (c. first century BC to 262 AD). This period in Indian history is noted for an unprecedented increase in long-distance trade contacts with the eastern Mediterranean both by overland and maritime communications.²² The political expansion of the Kushana rule over vast stretches of areas in Central and South Asia facilitated movements of merchants and commodities from the Silk Road network to the subcontinent through the northwestern corridor. This new situation left its mark on the import of coveted horses to India.

Further light is shed on the scenario by archaeological materials from the Karakorum highways, thanks to the researches by Karl Jettmar and his Pakistani and German colleagues.²³ Several sites like Thalpan Bridge, Shatiyal, Chilas have yielded wonderful rock-engravings of horses and men accompanying them – possibly dealers wearing obviously non-Indian clothing. Coupled with these images of horses and possible dealers, diverse inscriptions in Chinese, Sogdian, Prakrit (written in both Kharoshti and Brahmi) are also visible. The area was thus a point of convergence for South Asian, Central Asian (especially Sogdian) and Chinese merchants. An engraving at Chilas II depicts four horses, three being held by a rope (but one without a rope) by men wearing trousers, boots, tunics and headgear with broad brims. The horses and men stand before a Buddhist *stupa* which the travellers must have been approaching. Another scene delineates a person in a long heavy coat and trousers with an incense burner venerating a *stupa*. Flanking him is a figure of a horse, shown in small dimension. Another male figure is engraved above wearing a belted garment, holding a jug and a small flag in his two hands. The association of horses and people attired in Central Asian dress with the Karakorum highway cannot but suggest that these horse merchants reached the northern part of Kashmir from either Kashgarh or Khotan on the southern Silk Road. This connectivity was not known before. The main advantage lies in the shortening of the route which otherwise had touched Bactra, and from there to Kabul and the urban centres of Peucalotis (Pushkalavati, the site of Charsadda) to the west of the Indus and Taxila to the east of the Indus as the principal points of entry to the Punjab plains. This short-cut, though extremely hazardous, is likely to have increased the supply of the coveted Central Asian horses to the North Indian plains. It has been suggested that this new overland network probably corresponded to the Jibin (Kashmir) route figuring in the Annals of the Han dynasty.²⁴

These rock-engravings clearly associate the itinerant merchant, especially the non-indigenous one, with Buddhism. The period under review witnessed the immense popularity of Mahayana Buddhism that spread to Central Asia from the northwestern sector of the subcontinent. Liu Xinru notes the association of horses with the Buddhist preachers who were among the early missionaries to China. An illustrative case, in her opinion, is the White Horse Monastery in Luoyang, so named after the legend of a white horse that carried Buddhist manuscripts there from the Indian subcontinent. The positive attitude of Buddhism to trade and merchants is well known; the point was further elaborated in the celebrated *Saddharmapundarika* sutra and the *Mahavastu-avadana* where the Buddha assumes the role of a saviour of merchants, especially the itinerant ones. The Buddha, according to the *Saddharmapundarika* (III: 70-93), rescued five hundred merchants in the form of the heavenly horse, Kestin. It is therefore in the fitness of things that images of horses and horse-dealers appeared in the rock engravings along with the visuals of *stupa* worship. In other words, Mahayana philosophy offered the message and hope that worshipping the Buddha and / or patronizing the Buddhist monastery brought tangible benefits for the believer. It is well known that many donors were merchants who had enough resources to render material support to the monastery; such resourceful donors were doubtless well-off persons. Among the wealth of a country *brahmana*, notes the

²² B. N. Mukherjee, *The Rise and Fall of the Kushana Empire* (Calcutta, 1989); Elizabeth Errington and J. Cribb (eds.), *At the Crossroads of Asia* (Cambridge, 1993); L. Bulnois, *The Silk Road* (London, 1966); Vimala Begley and Richard Daniel de Puma (eds.), *Rome and India, the Ancient Sea Trade* (New Delhi, 1992; reprint).

²³ Karl Jettmar (ed.), *Antiquities from Northern Pakistan*, especially vol. II (Munich, 1989). In this volume G. Fussman offers improved readings of some of the inscriptions that originally appeared in A. H. Dani, *Chilas, a City of the Nanga Pabat* (Islamabad, 1985).

²⁴ E. Zurcher, "The Yueh Chih and Kanishka in Chinese Literature", in A. L. Basham (ed.), *Papers on the Date of Kanishka* (London, 1968).

Mahavastu, were treasures, granaries and various domesticated animals, including horses. In a similar manner, the signs for wealth associated with the leader of a *sreni* (a professional body of craftsmen and / or merchants) were money, treasures, granaries, precious metals and horses, among other possessions.²⁵ Thus even in Buddhist philosophical texts, horses appear as a tangible wealth in the possession of a *brahmana* in the countryside and a skilled professional – possibly an urbane person – alike. The horse, therefore, was not merely a marker of the political elite, but was available for possession by any resourceful person.

At the same time it is true that horses were invariably associated with the power and prestige of rulers. Among the seven jewels of the universal ruler (*chakravarti*), according to the *Mahavastu*, was the horse (*asva*). Liu rightly argues that the horse along with six other jewels symbolized the early Buddhist view of the sovereignty of the state.²⁶ Such a situation as this could not have materialized but for the regular and increased supply of horses through the overland trade in the northwestern part of the subcontinent. The horse of course continued to be depicted visually and narrated textually as a symbol of royalty, as will be evident in the visual representations of royal chariots in processions in the art of the northwest, at Sanchi in central India and in the Amaravati school of sculptures in the Deccan.²⁷

Horses began to appear regularly in the terracotta art of the Bengal delta from this period onwards, particularly from two archaeological sites, Chandraketugarh and Tamluk, both well known ports. Chandraketugarh has yielded a few inscribed terracotta seals and sealants, palaeographically assignable to the first three centuries AD, with representations of sea-going vessels.²⁸ One sealing (No. DA. WB. CKG 180) shows not only a single-masted ship, but the figure of a standing horse on the right hand field of the sealing and near the right-hand edge of the figure of the ship. The horse is shown in profile, with its head towards the mast; its mouth, an ear and an eye are also visible. The neck of the horse figure is treated in a somewhat elongated manner. Its hind legs and tail are also depicted.²⁹ The artist / craftsman has deliberately enlarged the figure of the horse, in relation to the overall composition of the scene of the sealing, probably to draw attention to the figure of the animal. This is the earliest known Indian documentation of the shipping of horses from or to an Indian port. Surely used for the authentication of commercial consignments, the seal / sealing is a trade and administrative mechanism. It therefore establishes the importance of the Bengal coast in the equestrian trade, more importantly its role in the maritime trade in horses, an aspect not known before.³⁰ The horse, on the other hand, was certainly not indigenous to Bengal. It must have reached Bengal in the context of the sustained supply of imported Central Asian horses into the Ganga plains. That northwestern people frequented the Bengal delta is illustrated by the terracotta seals and sealings with inscriptions in Kharoshti, a script primarily current in the northwestern extremes of the subcontinent.

But what is the significance of the maritime transportation of horses in the Bengal coast? Drawing upon the third century AD account of Kang Tai, B. N. Mukherjee suggested that Yuezhi merchants (either Kushana merchants or merchants in the Kushana realm) exported horses by ships to Geying or the Malay peninsula. For such shipments of horses to a Southeast Asian destination the Bengal coast was ideally located as this was the only eastern outlet to the sea in the otherwise land-locked Ganga valley.³¹ In addition

²⁵ Liu Xinru, *Ancient India and Ancient China, AD 1-600* (New Delhi, 1988), pp. 83, 88, 101.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 101. The other six jewels are: *chakra* (wheel), *hastin* (elephant), *mani* (gem), *stri* (wife / queen), *gahapati* (rich landlord, involved in trade also) and *parinayaka* (minister).

²⁷ See J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushansi* (Berkeley, 1967); Niharranjan Ray, *Maurya and Post Maurya Art* (New Delhi, 1975; second edition).

²⁸ B. N. Mukherjee, "Kharoshti and Kharoshti-Brahmi Inscriptions from West Bengal, India", *Indian Museum Bulletin* 25 (1990). The Chandraketugarh materials are now also available in Enamul Haque, *Chandrekhetugarh* (Dhaka, 2002).

²⁹ For this seal, now preserved in the Museum of the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal, Kolkata, see, Mukherjee, "Kharoshti and Kharoshti-Brahmi Inscriptions", pp. 44-45, 45-46 and 47-48.

³⁰ This was first pointed out by Ranabir Chakravarti, "Maritime Trade in Horses in Early Historical Bengal: A Seal from Chandraketugarh", *Pratnasamiksha* 1 (1992), pp. 155-160. He has also discussed it in his *Trade and Traders in Early Indian Society*, pp. 120-121. Also see his "Seafarings, Ships and Ship-owners: India and the Indian Ocean (AD 700-1500)", in David Parkin and Ruth Barnes (eds.), *Ships and the Development of Maritime Technology in the Indian Ocean* (London, 2002), pp. 37-38, figure 2.1.

³¹ B. N. Mukherjee, *Economic Factors in Kushana History* (Calcutta, 1970).

to the possible transportation of horses from the Bengal coast to Southeast Asia, the other possible candidate for a destination could be coastal Tamilnadu. The earliest Tamil heroic poetry, the Sangam literature, eulogises valiant war heroes of the Chola, Pandya and Chera clans who were engaged in endemic clashes. In this context the poetic account of the arrival by ship of excellent steeds in the famous port of Kaveripattinam (in the Kaveri delta) should be situated.

Milk white maned horses arrive with riches from the north, in ships standing out in the cool ocean by the sea front (*Perurumpanarruppatai* description of Nirppeyar, lines 319-24)

Warhorses that came by sea..... The produce of the Ganges basin and Kaveri valley (*Pattinappalai* description of Puhar, lines 185-91).³²

There is little possibility of horses reaching the premier Coromandel coast port by ships from the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea for the simple reason that Classical texts like the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* never speak of the horse as an item of overseas import from the 'West'. A perusal of the *Periplus*, Ptolemy's *Geography*, and the distribution of the Rouletted Ware sites all along the eastern seaboard of India very strongly suggests a lively coastal network connecting the Coromandel coast with the Bengal delta.³³ It would be logical, therefore, to look towards the Bengal coast as the likely source of supply of horses to the Kaveri delta. The Bengal coast thus plays a crucial role in the horse economy of a far-flung area. It appears to have received a handsome number of northwestern horses; some of these imported horses were then further re-exported to Southeast Asia; others went to a southern destination bound for ports in the Coromandel area where some demands for war horses surfaced because of the changing political scenario. No other area in the subcontinent than Bengal was involved in such complex three-pronged transactions in horses.

IV

The horse economy of South Asia during the post-500 AD days became more complex and attained a greater visibility in our sources. The ensuing eight centuries since 500 AD experienced an unprecedented degree of proliferation of monarchical states, not merely restricted to areas of attraction like the Ganga valley and / or the Deccan plateau, but emerging in many erstwhile fringe areas (like Kashmir, Kamarupa, central Indian forest tracts, etc.) too. Most of these were local and regional powers or at some time regional imperial powers, but not commanding a paramount position for a protracted period over North India or the Deccan or the far South.³⁴ These powers were engaged in endemic hostilities; military encounters went on unabated for centuries over certain regions amidst and in spite of dynastic shifts and upheavals. The attendant increase in the demand for warhorses for the cavalry is understandable. While this was a major additive change in the horse economy, there occurred also a substitutive change, perhaps more significant, in the pattern of the import trade of horses into South Asia. Till the end of the first millennium, the nearly perennial source of the imported warhorses was the northwestern borderlands of the subcontinent that received steady supplies of Persian and Central Asian horses. From 1000 onwards, horses began to be brought to India by overseas

³² R. Chamapakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology, Urbanization: South India 300 BC-AD 1300* (New Delhi, 1996), has drawn our attention to the importation of horses by sea in the above two quotes from her book (pages 107, 129). However, she did not suggest that such horses could have reached Coromandel from the Bengal delta.

³³ Chakravarti, *Trade and Traders*, especially the chapter on "Maritime Trade and Voyages in Ancient Bengal". For the distribution of the Rouletted Ware, see Vimala Begley, "Ceramic Evidence of pre-Periplus Trade on the Indian Coast", in Begley and de Puma (eds.), *Rome and India*, pp. 157-196. The easternmost site yielding Rouletted Ware is Wari Bateswar, near Dhaka, Bangladesh. See Dilip K. Chakrabarti, *Ancient Bangladesh* (New Delhi, 1992).

³⁴ Hermann Kulke (ed.), *The State in India, AD 1000-1700* (New Delhi, 1994); also B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India* (New Delhi, 1993). The proliferation of regional powers is seen as a feature of feudal polities by R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism* (New Delhi, 1980; second edition). Also see, D. N. Jha (ed.), *The Feudal Order* (New Delhi, 2000). The general account of dynastic warfare during this phase is available in R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* (Bombay, 1968); R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Struggle for Empire* (Bombay, 1970); K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *A History of South India* (Bombay, 1966).

transportation from both the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea areas, opening up the possibility of delivering large numbers of horses by ship to meet the growing equestrian demand.

The overland network was never given up, but the preference for maritime import trade in horses is unmistakable in the post-1000 scenario, a point we shall take up later for discussion. For the availability of fine warhorses North Indian powers generally looked for the traditional supply zone: the northwestern area. The Pala rulers of Bihar and Bengal (c. 750-1150) consistently considered the northern sector (*udichi*) as the primary supply zone for their invincible and countless cavalry (*aprameya hayavahini*); such eulogistic expressions glorifying rulers in Sanskrit court poetry may be standardized and exaggerated, but these also underline how coveted the warhorses of the northern quarter were to a major regional power of eastern India.³⁵ In 883 AD there assembled (*samayata*) at the town of Prithudaka (modern Pehwa, Karnal district, Haryana) as many as thirty four horse-dealers hailing from nine areas on the occasion of a horse-fair (*ghotakayatra*).³⁶ They were:

From Chutavrshika

- 1-3. Bhatta Virukas' sons Vandya, Rajula and Valluka
4. Ranuka's son Rajyasiha.

From Utpalika

5. Bhalluka's son Mangaka
6. Chinha's son Choranaka

From Chikkariselavanapura

7. Dada's son Kalluka
8. Kalluka's son Jayaraka
9. Vishnu's son Adityaraka
- 10-11. Rajjuka's sons Chihna and Rangaka
12. Kalluka's son Vanuka

From Baladevapura

13. Khambhata's son Hoddha
14. Mriganka's son Viddaka
15. Kesava's son Dhanuka
16. Khangaka's son Vamuka
17. Manikka's son Uehari

From Sarankatidaka

- 18-19. Nara's sons Lohata and Sankara
20. Valluka's son Isvaraditya

From Siharudukkaka

21. Ullaka's son Vachchaka
22. Jayadharaka's son Ranika
23. Sura's son Pragada

From Traighataka

24. Dharata's son Chanda
25. Ekagoraka's son Savva

³⁵ Ranabir Chakravarti, "Early Medieval Bengal and the Trade in Horses: A Note", *JESHO* 42 (1999), pp. 194-211.

³⁶ G. Buhler, "The Pehwa Inscription in the Temple of Garibnath", *Epigraphia Indica* (now *EpInd*), I (1882), pp. 184-190.

- 26. Devasarmman's son Phampha
- 27. Vagguaka's son Kammika

From Ghamghaka

- 28. Lallika's son Svamiraka
- 29. Simghuka's son Siha
- 30. Damodara's son Pombha
- 31. Halluaka's son Davvu
- 32. Kasali
- 33. Mana's son Khajji.

From Asvala-Uhovaka

- 34. Usuaha's son Vaddha.

The inscription that enlists their names and backgrounds also introduces each of them by mentioning their respective fathers. Why this was done is not clear from the epigraphic text; one logical guess is that this was intended to indicate the hereditariness of their profession (see 7, 8 and 12). The inscription does not offer economic details of transactions in horses, since its main purport is to record the donation of resources by these merchants in favour of a few temples; such resources were to be realized in the form of a self-imposed cess by merchants on the sale of horses (*evametatpramukha-nanadesagata-hayakavyuvaharaka desi Sriprithudakiya... prayachchhati*). A few interesting observations can however be made in the light of even this meager account of transactions in horses. First, Prithudaka figures in some literary texts, notably the *Kavyamimasa* of Rajasekhara, as the point from which the northern quarter, Uttarapatha, starts.³⁷ The very expression Uttarapatha must have been coined after a major overland route that connected the upper Ganga valley and the Indo-Ganga divide with the northwest, the latter traditionally famous for the availability and supply of quality horses. It is therefore in the fitness of things that Prithudaka was the site for a horse-fair. However important Prithudaka could have been as a centre for horse trade, the occasion was that of a fair which seems to have taken place or been organized during a specific season or period, possibly coinciding with some festivals. In other words, a fair is marked by the periodicity of transactions, but not perhaps implying a regular market place participating in transactions on a daily basis. No less significant is the statement in the inscription that horses were available at Prithudaka for purchase by king(s) and petty nobles and rural gentry alike (*rajakriyopakraye thakkurajanapadopakraye*). The horse therefore was not meant for the restricted use of royal personages only. The landholding rural elite had resources enough to buy these coveted animals, more as a symbol of prestige and status than for warlike purposes. At one specific place, namely Traighataka, however, the sale of horses was restricted only to rulers (*kevalam rajakiyopakraye*). Can one infer that the better quality, imported horses, were earmarked for royalty and hence available only at a specific place, while the locally bred ordinary variety catered to the needs of the rural elite?

A further word on the horse-merchants will be in order here. The inscription informs us that these merchants, hailing from different places, formed a guild-like professional body (*desi*) of dealers³⁸ in horses (*hayakavyuvaharaka*). None of the merchants bore non-Indian names; but a few of them were certainly *brahmanas*, clearly borne out by their prefixes and suffixes like Bhatta and Sarman. Irrespective of the long-standing proscription on *brahmanas*' participating in trade as per the normative treatises, the inscription, typical of a source of the descriptive category, underlines that the trade in horses was lucrative enough even for the *brahmanas* to transgress the sastric code of conduct.

³⁷ "Tatah Prithudakat paratah Uttarapatha". states Rajasekhara. See 'Uttarapatha' in K. K. Dasgupta (ed.), *J. F. Fleet's Topographical List of the Brihatsamhita* (Calcutta, 1972).

³⁸ For an explanation of the word *desi* in the sense of a professional body of merchants see Lallanji Gopal, *Economic Condition in Northern India, AD 700-1200* (Varanasi, 1983; second edition), p. 242.

This gains further ground after nearly a century in an inscription of 975 that speaks of the presence of the Hedavikas, hailing from Uttarapatha, at a trade centre in the Shikar area of Rajasthan.³⁹ The word *hedavika* stands specifically for horse-merchants; it also denotes, according to Balambhatta's commentary on the *Mitakshara* which itself is a commentary on the law-book of Yajñavalkya, a sub-caste of the *brahmanas*. The commentary recognizes the reality of the *brahmana*'s participation in horse-trade, while the principal prescriptive text, the *Manusamhita*, categorically forbids a *brahmana* from dealing in animals even when in utter distress. The same inscription eulogistically describes precious gifts presented to Vighararaja of the Chahamana lineage, including gay steeds and rutting elephants. Beneath such conventional court-poetry probably lies the recognition of the coveted war animals, the horse and the elephant, for an aspirant ruler. The supply of the horse as an exchangeable commodity in this area will be evident from the same inscription recording the levy of one *dramma* (a type of silver coin) on the sale of each horse. The levy, according to the inscription, was payable by the Hedavika merchants of Uttarapatha at Shikar. It is evident that the Hedavikas were non-local merchants at Shikar.

Two decades previously, in 955, there stood two *mandapikas* (locality-level centre of exchange) in the Bayana region of northeastern Rajasthan. A cess of 3 *drammas* was imposed on the sale of each horse at the *mandapika* of Sripatha and one *dramma* on the sale of each horse at Vusavata.⁴⁰ The point of interest in this epigraphic reference to the sale of horses is that the cess was collected daily, implying that the transactions at the two *mandapikas* were regular and not periodic (like the one at Prithudaka). The reason for imposing a lower rate of cess on the sale of each horse at Vusavata, one may guess, is that it dealt in horses inferior in quality to the ones at Sripatha. Continuing with the scenario in Rajasthan, one comes across the prevalence of the levy of two *rupakas* (a type of silver coin) on the sale of a horse, as recorded in an inscription from Ahada. The levy on the sale of horses would be used as donations for the maintenance of a Vaishnava (having an image of Varaha or the Boar incarnation of Vishnu) temple at Ahada.⁴¹

The Jaina texts from western India offer interesting glimpses of the association of horses with social and cultural scenarios. Hemachandra, the great scholar of the twelfth century, in his *Trishasthisalakapurushacharita*, vividly describes the scene at the onset of a caravan journey under the leadership of Dhana, a prominent merchant. An auspicious moment was chosen for the departure of the caravan that carried much merchandise. The departure of the caravan was a spectacle involving a large number of horses, camels, carts and oxen – typical of a caravan about to move. The caravan advanced unhindered as it was flanked by a multitude of horsemen. The *Maharajaparajaya* of Yasapala, another important Jaina text, recounts the grandeur and opulence of a rich elite (*kotisvara*, literally the lord of the crores of wealth): as expected, his possession of horses and elephants along with his mansion, decorated with banners, and the alms house under his patronage marks out his affluence.⁴² The demand for horses was not merely limited to the rulers, but the animal was sought after by the rich as a statement of their prestige and rank in society.

Attention now may be paid to a horse-market in central India. We encounter a large *mandapika* located in an urban space (*pattanamandapika*), once again in 975, at a place close to Jabbalpur in Madhyapradesh. An inscription impresses us with the wide range of commodities – ranging from green vegetables and other plant products (black pepper) to precious animals like the horse and the elephants – available at this locality-level trade centre. On the sale of each elephant was imposed a cess of 4 *paura* coins, while a cess of 2 *paura* coins was exacted from the sale of each horse.⁴³ First, one notes here the lower rate of cess on the sale of the horse than that on the elephant. The region, known as Dahala, is located in the forest tract which seems to have facilitated the local supply of elephants to the *mandapika*; but the horse is unlikely to have been locally

³⁹ *EpInd*, II, p. 127.

⁴⁰ For a discussion on this on the basis of the Shergarh Inscription, see, Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India* (chapter on Markets and Merchants in Early Medieval Rajasthan) and Chakravarti, *Trade and Traders*, pp. 187-200, especially the table at the end of the chapter.

⁴¹ Besides the levy on the sale of horses, a cess of one *dramma* on the sale of an elephant and one-fortieth of a *dramma* on the sale of a horned animal were imposed at Ahada. See Lallanji Gopal, *Economic Conditions in North India* (Varanasi, 1965), p. 206.

⁴² These gleanings from the two Jaina texts are based on V. K. Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India, 1000-1300* (New Delhi, 1989).

⁴³ V. V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, IV, pt. I (Ootacamund, 1955), pp. 215, 223.

available in and around Jabbalpur and seems to have been brought from elsewhere. Yet the sale of elephants attracted a higher rate of cess in cash. This may imply that either the local society attached greater importance to elephants than to horses as war-animals, or the horses available for sale at Bilhari did not belong to the best breed.

In eastern India, Bengal offers glimpses of interesting change and continuity in the pattern of import of horses to this area. We have already said that all the Pala rulers of Bengal took pride, in a stereotyped manner, in their invincible cavalry comprised of the best horses from the northern and northwestern quarters. Since the twelfth century the major dealers of the best variety of horses from Tatar (Central Asia) and Fers (Persia) to India were Muslim merchants. The regular movements of these merchants as far east as Bengal is well illustrated by the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhaj who spoke about the Turkish conquest of Bengal. Though the fall of the Sena power before the Turkish conquerors under Bakhtiyar Khalji is dated as 19 Ramadan, AH 601 (10 May, 1205),⁴⁴ Minhaj wrote his account about sixty years after the event. The account therefore is not free from inaccuracy and other limitations.⁴⁵ These problems notwithstanding, Minhaj presents a lively account of the trade in horses in Bengal.

Proceeding from Bihar, Bakhtiyar suddenly reached the city of Nudiah (Nadia in West Bengal) by following a shortcut through the present Jharkhand.

On reaching the gate of the city, Muhammad Bakhtyar...with no more than eighteen horsemen ... proceeded onwards, steadily and sedately, in such a manner that the people of the place imagined that mayhap his party were merchants and had brought horses for sale and did not imagine that it was Muhammad Bakhtiyar.⁴⁶

The author gives an impression that Bakhtiyar surprised every one, including the Sena ruler who fled, and Bakhtiyar conquered the city with a help of a large number of troops that followed him and the eighteen horsemen who accompanied him. Minhaj graphically describes a lively import trade of Arabian / Persian horses brought by Muslim merchants, whose sight and activities were so common in twelfth century Nudiah that it barely evoked any notice or alarm among the residents of the city or the royal troops. We have no idea how and why Nudiah in West Bengal developed as a major centre of horse-trade, but it is unlikely to have occurred prior to the political rise of the Senas in the western part of the delta (twelfth century). Next to fall before the Turkish forces was the Sena capital itself, the famous city of Lakhnauti (Lakshmanavati, named after king Lakshmanasena), identified with Gaur, the premier urban centre of medieval Bengal (located in the northern part of Bengal). The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* did not fail to notice that this city too, like Nudiah, was a major centre for horse-trading. Lakhnauti daily received as many as 1,500 horses from a city variously spelt as Karambattan, Karampatan and Karapatan.

All the Tanghan horses which come into the territory of Lakhnauti are brought from this country. The roads pass through defiles as is usual in that land, so that from the land of Kamrud to that of Tibet there are thirty five mountain passes, through which the horses are brought to the land of Lakhnauti.⁴⁷

It is difficult to identify the exactly location of Karambattan. Bhattasali placed it in Kera Gompa (southwestern Bhutan) and Toghan located it in the northern fringe of Tibet. The significant point is that Lakhnauti received northeastern horses from the mountainous area. Hence, Bengal was supplied simultaneously with northwestern and northeastern horses in the thirteenth century. The northeastern mountainous horses in the fourteenth century accounts of Barani and Wassaf were labeled as *kohi* (from mountainous regions) horses, distinct from the more famous Arabian and Persian breeds. It is logical to assume that there was a boom in the import trade of horses in thirteenth century Bengal that had two sources of supply of two different breeds of horses. One may not be entirely off the mark to suggest that Bakhtiya targeted Nudiah and Lakhnauti since they were not merely major urban and political centres in Bengal, but were also thriving markets for horses. The contiguity of North Bengal to upper Assam (Kamarupa) that acted

⁴⁴ This specific date is given by D. C. Sircar, *Pala Sena Yugera Vamasanucharita* (Bengali) (Calcutta, 1983), on the basis of a gold coin issued by Bakhtiyar to commemorate the victory over Gauda (*Gaudavijaye*).

⁴⁵ R. C. Majumdar, *History of Ancient Bengal* (Calcutta, 1971).

⁴⁶ H. G. Raverty (ed. and tr.), *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri by Minhaj uddin* (Calcutta, 1881), p. 557.

⁴⁷ Ibid, pp. 567-568.

as a conduit for further communications with the northeastern fringe appears to have been appreciated by Bakhtiyar. He launched another expedition towards Karambattan, precisely to conquer this vital supply zone of *kohi* horses, but it ended in a disastrous defeat for him.

No less important is the commercial connectivity between the northeastern borderland of the subcontinent with the Yunnan-Bhamo region that has recently been seen as well integrated with the 'Southwest Silk Road'. The horse economy of this region gained further momentum as it experienced the circulation of cowry currency,⁴⁸ which was also prevalent in wide areas of eastern India, including Bengal. The Yunnan-Bhamo route linked up on the one hand the northern part of Bengal through Kamarupa, and on the other, reached out to the southeasternmost part of Bangladesh where stood the celebrated port of Chittagrama (modern Chittagong, also known as Samandar and Sudkawan in Arabic and Persian texts).⁴⁹ The southeastern section of the Bengal delta (Noakhali, Comilla and Chittagong region of Bangladesh) functioned as a bridge between South Asia and continental Southeast Asia. Amir Khusru's account of the invasion of the Kakatiya realm (in Andhrapradesh) by Alauddin Khalji in the early fourteenth century tells us that the Kakatiya royal stable had both extremely precious Arabian / Persian horses and *kohi* or mountainous ones. The *kohi* horses could not have been locally available in the eastern part of the Deccan. There is thus a distinct possibility that these *kohi* horses reached the eastern Deccan from Bengal, either by an overland route through southern Bengal and Orissa, or by a coastal shipping network along the eastern seaboard.⁵⁰

V

This section takes up a brief overview of the overseas transportation of horses to India, a hallmark of the horse-trade in the post-1000 AD days. Ibn Battuta, Wassaf and Barani, all belonging to the fourteenth century, provide us with a classification of horses, based on their quality and price. Four types of horses figure in their statements: the *bahri* (literally meaning the sea-borne, and actually referring to horses of Arabia and Persia exported overseas for Indian destinations), the *tatari* (from Tatar or Central Asia), the *buldasti* (from the Mulk-i-buldasta or the flat plains to the northwest of the Punjab bordering on the northern frontiers), and the *kohi* (the mountainous horse from the northeast, already discussed above). The classification has been made from the viewpoint of procuring the best horse (the warhorse) for the ruler, the intended ruler being in many cases the Sultan of Delhi.⁵¹ The authors share two commonalities in this context: first, the *bahri* horse was by far the most superior and sought after and hence fetched the highest price; and, second, the local indigenous breed of the *tattu* was the worst and unfit for the cavalry. The *bahri* cost anything between 1,000 and 4,000 *tankas* or silver coins, as Ibn Battuta narrates.⁵² An exceptional *tatari* horse fetched a price of 500 *tankas*, and the price of an ordinary *tatari* horse was 100 *tankas*, according to the same author. Barani also mentions the price of 100 to 120 *tankas* for a *tatari*.⁵³

That the two sea-lanes in the western Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, thrived on the export of the Arabian and Persian horses by overseas transportation to India, had already been noted by

⁴⁸ Bin Yang, "Horses, Silver and Cowries: Yunnan in Global Perspective", *Journal of World History* 15 (2004), pp. 289-322.

⁴⁹ B. N. Mukherjee, "Commerce and Currency in the Central and Western Sectors of Eastern India (c. 750-1200)", *Indian Museum Bulletin* 27 (1982), pp. 65-83, highlights the importance of cowry shells in the economy of Bengal. Bin Yang's essay cited in footnote 43 clearly demonstrates the wide circulation of cowry shells as a major medium of exchange. There is little substantiation of the observation that cowry shells as a medium of exchange were a poor substitute of pre-modern metallic money and were restrictive of long-distance trade (see Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*). J. Heiman, "Small Exchange and Ballast: Cowry Trade and Usage as an example of Indian Ocean Economic History", *South Asia* 3 (1980), pp. 48-69, ably argues that cowry shells were integral elements of Indian Ocean maritime trade, travelling long distances from the Maldives, the source of the best cowry shells. For maritime trade in Bengal and for horses, see Chakravarti, *Trade and Traders* (especially, the chapter Seafaring in the Bengal Coast: the Early Medieval Scenario), and the next note.

⁵⁰ Chakravarti, "Early Medieval Bengal", pp. 194-211.

⁵¹ This classification was first suggested by Simon Digby, *War-horses and Elephants in the Delhi Sultanate* (Oxford, 1971); I have regularly drawn upon this masterly work.

⁵² H. A. R. Gibb (tr.), *The Travels of Ibn Battuta* (London, 1929), pp. 145-146.

⁵³ Ziya Uddin Barani (author), S. A. Khan, W. N. Lees and Kabiruddin (eds.), *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Bibliotheka Indica (Calcutta, 1860-1862), f. 119A; cited by Digby.

thirteenth century writers like Zhao Rugua and Marco Polo.⁵⁴ Before taking into account the embarkation points of these *bahri* horses for their Indian clientele, one has also to recognize that the shipping of horses would bring the coastal regions of the peninsula (and not the landlocked North Indian plains) to great prominence. Zhao Rugua underlines the importance of the Omani lands as a busy breeding ground for horses.⁵⁵ How the merchants of Kish, Hormuz, Dhofar, Shihr (Suhar) and Aden collected a large number of horses from breeders and then shipped them to ports on the western sea-board of India, figures prominently in Polo's account.⁵⁶ The ports in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and on the Hadramaut coast reaped great advantages by exporting horses to India. While Kish and Hormuz had shot to considerable prominence for the maritime shipping of horses to India, Aden too joined this network that now also expanded into the Red Sea. Polo tells us:

The sultan of Aden receives a large amount in duties from the ships that traffic between India and his country...; from the exporters he gets a revenue, for there are dispatched from the port of Aden to India a very large number of Arab chargers.⁵⁷

Intelligent utilization of the more or less predictable alterations of the monsoon wind was instrumental in bringing in ships from Bab el Mandeb to Malabar in around twenty days, at the most in a month.⁵⁸ The export of *bahri* horses from Aden seems to have increased the pace of shipping across the Arabian Sea and hence a speedier disembarkation of these horses at the Malabar ports. The large revenue potential associated with Aden's export of horses is indicated not only by Polo, but also by the thirteenth century author Ibn Mujawir in his graphic account of this great port city. According to Mujawir, the sale of horses was subject to the highest rate of duty, namely 50 *dinars* per horse.⁵⁹

Following Polo once again, one learns that about 10,000 horses were sent to the ruler Sonderbandi, identified with Sundara Pandya of the Pandya dynasty in the eastern part of Tamilnadu. Known as Ma'abar in the Arab account, the same Pandya realm figures in the writings of Ibn Battuta, who confirms Marco Polo's narration of a very large consignment of horses to the Pandya king. Ibn Battuta further speaks of a merchant Jamaluddin who was under contract with the Ma'abar king to procure for him as many horses as possible. The constant wars fought by the Pandya kings of the Vaigai-Tamraparni basin with a number of rivals, especially the waning Chola kingdom, necessitated continuous importation of war horses.⁶⁰ The other reason for this ceaseless import of horses by sea is hinted at by Marco Polo. He expressed his poor opinion about the inability of Indians to properly breed, feed and maintain horses – the disastrous result being that a large number of imported horses perished *in situ*, which constantly called for fresh imports. Moreover, according to Polo, the Arab merchants, fully aware of these deficiencies, would not allow a veterinary physician to accompany the horses that were sent to India.⁶¹

Another significant development took place in South India. While the shipping of the *bahri* horse was under the firm control of merchants in the Persian Gulf, Red Sea and the Hadrami coastal areas, there emerged a group of merchants in South India, dealing specifically in horses. They are the *kudiraichchettis*, *kudir* denoting the horse and *chetti* standing for merchants. Known to us largely from inscriptions, these merchants were invariably described as the horse-dealers of Malabar (*malaimandalam*). However, their inscriptions are available not from the Malabar coast, but from the eastern part of Tamilnadu.⁶² This is

⁵⁴ Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill (ed. and tr.), *Chau Ju-kua. His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1911); H. Yule and H. Cordier (eds. and tr.), *The Travels of Ser Marco Polo*, 2 vols. (London, 1903).

⁵⁵ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 133.

⁵⁶ Yule and Cordier, *Polo*, I, pp. 84-85; II, pp. 340, 377, 379, 381.

⁵⁷ Ibid., II, pp. 373-374.

⁵⁸ That this system was well established since the late first century AD, has been argued for by Lionel Casson (ed. and tr.), *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Princeton, 1989), introduction.

⁵⁹ G. Rex Smith, "Have You Anything to Declare? Maritime Trade and Commerce in Ayyubid Aden: Practices and Taxes", in idem, *Studies in the Medieval History of the Yemen and South Arabia* (Aldershot, etc., 1997).

⁶⁰ A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India*, vol. II (Madras, 1936), pp. 553-563.

⁶¹ Yule and Cordier, *Polo*, II, p. 375.

⁶² See *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy*; inscription no. 196 of the year 1928 and inscription no. 182 of the year 1926. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology, Urbanization*, p. 336, has made a passing reference to the horse merchants.

precisely the area that was the seat of power of the Chola and subsequently the Pandya rulers. The Kaveri valley and delta was the core area of the Cholas while the Vaigai-Tamraparni valley and delta was the principal stronghold of the Pandyas. These *kudiraichchettis* therefore appear to have played the crucial role of supplier of *bahri* horses to the Tamil rulers, once these animals reached the Malabar ports by ship. The *kudiraichchettis*, one may add, rarely figure in the local Kerala society from where they originally hailed, because the principal political centres and the masters thereof were then active in the eastern part of Tamilnadu. Thus the dynastic hinterland of the overseas supply of horses was situated far away from the Malabar coast, and the *kudiraichchettis* acted as a bridge between the ports on the Malabar coast and the final destination of the imported horses, the Chola and Pandya realms in the interior. They were counterparts of the North Indian *hedavika* merchants.

The import trade of horses for Indian rulers indeed strengthened their power. But it was not always a smooth and certain process to ensure a steady supply of horses. Marco Polo tells us that the ruler of Tana (Thana, a well known port located on a creek, now a northern suburb of Mumbai) faced a major problem as regards the supply of horses. The ruler of Thana is not a political authority over a port, but was in all probability the powerful Yadava ruler of northern Maharashtra. As he was facing a shortage in the supply of horses, he resorted to a stratagem: he connived with the local corsairs on the condition that the horses plundered by pirates, operating in the vicinity of Thana, would go to the ruler, while all other objects would be taken away by the pirates.⁶³

It has been suggested that the Yadava ruler did not receive enough *bahri* horses as most ships from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea preferred to sail to either the ports of Gujarat or those in Malabar. Indeed, ports on the Konkan coast like Thana, sandwiched as it were between the more prosperous ports in Gujarat and Malabar, probably suffered from a decrease in the supply of horses from across the Arabian Sea. Yet the Yadava contestations with contemporary powers in the Deccan and Malwa and also against the Delhi Sultanate hardly allowed a decrease in the demand for quality warhorses. Such a desperate situation probably drove the Yadava ruler to resort to a strategy of conniving with pirates in order to ensure the procurement of this indispensable war animal.⁶⁴

In sharp contrast to this attitude is the account of Vastupala, the celebrated administrator of the great port of Cambay in Gujarat, who himself was born into a merchant family. The *Prabandhachintamani* of Merutunga narrates that Vastupala closely supervised the procedure of unloading (*uttarantah*) of horses (*turanga*) from ships (*yanapatrat*).⁶⁵ These horses certainly belonged to the category of *bahri* or horses from overseas. Cambay was the premier port of Gujarat from the eleventh to the sixteenth century where the port authority normally did not resort to dubious means to procure horses as the ruler of Thana did. In addition to the Jaina account of the maritime supply of horses to the ports of Gujarat, certain other Jaina texts of Gujarat were aware of horses from the northwest also. The *Upamitabhavaprapanchakatha*⁶⁶ points to Bahlika (Bactria), Kamboja (northwestern Pakistan) and Turushka (Turkish area) as the source of premier horses. The knowledge about these northwestern horses in a Jaina text indicates the arrival of horses from the northwest by overland routes. Gujarat thus attracted merchants from both the maritime and overland sectors and thereby outshone other areas as the premier importers of horses in western India.

⁶³ Yule and Cordier, *Polo*, II, p. 330.

⁶⁴ Ranabir Chakravarti, "Horse Trade and Piracy at Tana (Thana, Maharashtra, India): Gleanings from Marco Polo", *JESHO* 34 (1991), pp. 159-182. This strategy would have hardly brought any long-term prospect to Tana. The usual reaction of merchants to a pirate-infested port was to avoid it.

⁶⁵ *Prabandhachintamani* of Merutunga, tr. by C. H. Tawney, p. 14.

⁶⁶ Cited by Jain, *Trade and Traders*, p. 95, footnote 160.

The Horse in Southeast Asia prior to 1500 CE: Some Vignettes¹

Geoff WADE²

INTRODUCTION

The historical roles of the horse in Southeast Asia have been subject to some scholarly attention, but the majority of studies conducted thus far have concentrated on the roles and functions of equids³ in the period post-1500 CE.⁴ It will be a long time before any comprehensive history of the horse in Southeast Asia will be written, but as a contribution to such a future work, it is intended here to provide a range of vignettes, situated both geographically and chronologically, relating to the roles and functions of horses in Southeast Asia during the period prior to 1500 CE. The aim is partly to introduce some new sources, rather than to try to write any synthesized history of the horse in Southeast Asia.

While the chronological restraints of the study are fairly clear, and essentially accord with the “pre-European” period of Southeast Asian history, the geographical limitations are not so obvious. Southeast Asia will here be taken to include the territory of the states which today form part of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations as well as some of the borderlands they share with polities to the north and to the west. This is of course an arbitrary division in historical terms, but it is hoped that the evidence presented as to the presence and functions of horses in this region will be able to be tied into that presented in other papers.

THE HORSE IN MAINLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA FROM PREHISTORY TO THE EIGHTH CENTURY

There are few archaeological sites in Southeast Asia where horse remains have been recovered. One of the few areas where they have been reported is the late Metal Age sites in Changwat Nakhon Ratchasima⁵ in Thailand. It was reported that horse bones as well as horse clay figurines were found in a layer associated

¹ In the compilation of these vignettes, I have had assistance from a range of people in diverse fields of study, including: Peter Bellwood, Chiou-Peng Tze-huey, Gabrielle Ewington, Charles Higham, Bob Hudson, John Miksic, William Gervase Clarence-Smith, Rasmi Shoocongdej, Pamaree Surakiat, Tran Ky Phuong and Yang Bin. My gratitude is extended to all.

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³ A generic term for members of the Genus *Equus*, which includes horses, donkeys, asses, kiang, and zebra. References within this work will generally be to equids of the Subgenus *Equus*, which includes both the domestic horse (*Equus caballus*) and the wild horse (*Equus ferus*).

⁴ See for example, William G. Clarence-Smith, “Elephants, Horses, and the Coming of Islam to Northern Sumatra”, *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 32.93 (2004), pp. 271-284; William G. Clarence-Smith, “Horse Breeding in Mainland Southeast Asia and Its Borderlands”, in Peter Boomgaard and David Henley (eds.), *Smallholders and Stockbreeders: History of Food and Livestock Farming in Southeast Asia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004), pp. 189-210; Peter Boomgaard, “Horses, Horse-trading and Royal Courts in Indonesian History, 1500-1900”, in Boomgaard and Henley, *Smallholders*, pp. 211-233; Greg Bankoff, “Horsing Around: The Life and Times of the Horse in the Philippines at the Turn of the Twentieth Century” in Boomgaard and Henley, *Smallholders*, pp. 233-256; Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680. Vol.1: The Lands below the Winds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 180-189; Michael W. Charney, *Southeast Asian Warfare, 1300-1900* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), ch. 7: Horses and Cavalry; William Gervase Clarence-Smith, “Horse Trading: the Economic Role of Arabs in the Lesser Sunda Islands, c. 1800-c.1940”, in Huub de Jonge and Nico Kaptein (eds.), *Transcending Borders: Arabs, Politics, Trade and Islam in Southeast Asia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002), pp. 143-162; and Greg Bankoff and Sandra Swart, *Breeds of Empire: The ‘Invention’ of the Horse in Maritime Southeast Asia and Southern Africa, 1500-1950* (Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press, forthcoming, 2007).

⁵ A region on the Korat Plateau.

with dates from 2500-1610 BCE.⁶ If further studies attest to the dates and the identification of the artefacts, we will have evidence that sometime between 500 BCE and 400 CE, people on the Korat Plateau were utilizing horses and making models of same.

At approximately the same period, we have references to horses in what is today the Chinese province of Yunnan. The historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 in his famed work *Shi ji* 史記 suggests that the people west of the region of Dian 滇, centred on Lake Dian near modern Kunming, saw horses, along with slaves and oxen, as an important source of wealth in the second century BCE.⁷ The earliest domestic horses in Yunnan were likely steppe short horses, and Chiou-Peng has examined their possible origins.⁸ Yang Bin cites the archaeologist Wang Ningsheng 汪寧生, who suggests that horse husbandry in the Yunnan region dates back to at least the sixth century BCE, and that horses were used there both for war as well as draught duties.⁹ Zhang Zengqi 張增其 claims that archaeological evidence supports their domesticated presence in the region from at least 1000 BCE.¹⁰ Yang Bin suggests that: “Legends recorded in *Huayang guozhi* 華陽國志 and *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書 talk about divine horses (*shenma* 神馬) in Lake Dian, Yunnan, which may imply that high-quality horses had already appeared before the third century CE.”¹¹

Regardless of what is claimed about earlier periods, it is widely accepted that by about the fourth century BCE, there emerged a new cultural complex in this region –the Dian culture –and that the people of this culture were intimately engaged with horses. Tze-huey Chiou-Peng has already analyzed the archaeology of the horse-related aspects of the Dian bronze decorations in a thorough article,¹² while Zhang Zengqi has provided us with two useful articles on the horsemen and their horses.¹³ Chiou-Peng concludes that “horsemanship had special meaning in the sedentary Dian community.”¹⁴

The beautiful bronzes which people of the Dian culture produced in the last centuries prior to the Common Era reveal to us the important roles of the horse in this culture at that time.¹⁵ They show merchants taking horses apparently to market or to offer as tribute, horses being used in warfare and hunting, and associated with the elite. The earliest known representation of horse riders in the Dian culture is an open-work plaque showing horseman wearing feathered headgear and engaging in a deer hunt. It likely dates from between 250 and 150 BCE. The horses are equipped with a blanket-saddle, a basic bridle and bit, but no stirrups. It appears that stirrups were not used as none of the existing bronzes show any use of the stirrup.

Later representations portray a girdle strap on the horse suggesting some sort of proto-saddle. There appears to have been a diversity of horse types in the region at this time. The small size of some of the horses, such as that shown being taken to market or to offer as tribute, suggests that these were what are today known as Pryzwalski horses usually associated with the Central Asiatic steppes, and sometimes known as the Mongolian pony.¹⁶ Other decorations, for example on cowrie-containers, show figures in the round, hunting, engaging in warfare and, in some cases, just being shown as elites.

⁶ Preecha Kanchanagama, “Archaeological Excavation at the Late Metal Age Sites in Changwat Nakhon Ratchasima”, *Southeast Asian Archaeology International Newsletter*, 7 (1995), p. 22. My thanks to Professor John Miksic for drawing this to my attention.

⁷ Yang Bin, “Horses, Silver, and Cowries: Yunnan in Global Perspective”, *Journal of World History* 15.3 (2004), paragraph 36. Also “<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jwh/15.3/yang.html>”.

⁸ Tze-huey Chiou-Peng, “Horsemen in the Dian Culture of Yunnan”, in Kathryn M. Linduff and Yan Sun (eds.), *Gender and Chinese Archaeology* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2004), pp. 306-311.

⁹ Wang Ning-sheng, “Gudai Yunnan de yangmaye” 古代雲南的養馬業, *Sixiang zhanxian* 思想戰線 3 (1980), p. 34.

¹⁰ Zhang Zengqi, “Gudai Yunnan qi ma minzu ji xiangguan wenti” 古代雲南騎馬民族及其相關問題, in *Yunnan qingtong wenhua lunji* 雲南青銅文化論集 (1991), pp. 262-278.

¹¹ Yang Bin, “Horses, Silver, and Cowries”.

¹² Chiou-Peng, “Horsemen in the Dian Culture of Yunnan”, pp. 289-312.

¹³ Zhang Zengqi, “Dianguo de zhanma, madeng ji maju” 滇國的戰馬, 馬蹬, 及馬具, *Kao gu* 考古 (5/1997), pp. 62-66; and “Gudai Yunnan”, pp. 262-278.

¹⁴ Chiou-Peng, “Horsemen in the Dian Culture of Yunnan”, p. 292.

¹⁵ A wide range of these bronzes are illustrated in Jessica Rawson, *The Chinese Bronzes of Yunnan* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1983). A useful earlier study is Michelle Pirazzoli-t’Serstevens, *La civilisation du royaume de Dian à l’époque Han* (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1974).

¹⁶ Chiou-Peng, “Horsemen in the Dian Culture of Yunnan”, p. 303.

The brief textual references we have, suggest that the Chinese were also interested in the horses which were so important to the Dian culture, and obtained these through trade / tribute relations. The lower Red River Valley (Jiaozhou 交州 and later Annam 安南 to the Chinese) was in direct river contact with the horse-producing areas of Dian (and also had a thriving bronze culture) and Chinese texts suggest that the successive polities in this area did have access to horses from Dian and beyond in the first few centuries of the Common Era. Some of these were supplied annually to the kingdom of Wu, a Chinese state situated on the eastern littoral.¹⁷ Thus, during this period, Chinese states were drawing horses directly from the uplands as well as from the proto-Viet state in the Red River Valley. Yang Bin notes the latter trade extending at least until the eighth century.

The Dian culture in Yunnan certainly continued to produce bronzes into the early centuries of the Common Era, and it appears that a recent find in Burma was a product of that culture. The wheeled-horse in cast bronze pictured below, apparently produced as a toy, was found in the Samon River Valley, around Pyawbwe, south of Mandalay.¹⁸ Bob Hudson assigns it “at least Chinese inspiration” on stylistic grounds, and it may well have been produced in the Dian culture area (although they could in no way have been considered Chinese in this period).¹⁹ (see pl. 40)

The Chinese state of Han, much further to the north, was also obtaining horses from Central Asia in the period from the second century BCE to the second century CE. A famous reference to Dayuan 大宛 (Ferghana) as having had excellent horses in the second century BCE comes from Sima Qian’s *Shi ji*, in which the Han envoy’s visit to the region is recorded.²⁰

THE HORSE IN ISLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA TO THE EIGHTH CENTURY

The earliest known representation of an equid in island Southeast Asia appears to be that portrayed on a bronze drum found on the island of Sangeang, near Sumbawa in Indonesia. One panel of decoration on the drum shows a raised-floor dwelling with a saddle roof. Another panel shows two men in attire resembling that of Kushan in northwestern India, with one sitting astride a horse, and the other standing aside with a spear and perhaps a mace.²¹ But was it produced in the island world?

Bellwood notes that the early bronzes found in Indonesia generally resemble those of the Dong-son culture – associated with the site of Dongson in modern northern Vietnam – particularly in respect of bronze drums. The decorations on the Sangeang drum, however, are not similar to the typical animal and bird friezes and the ships of the dead which characterize the usual Dongson drums.²²

¹⁷ See Yang Bin, “Horses, Silver, and Cowries”, who cites Chen Shou 陳壽, *San guo zhi* 三國志 (*Wu shu* 吳書), 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), j. 49.

¹⁸ Bob Hudson, *The Origins of Bagan: The Archaeological Landscape of Upper Burma to AD 1300* (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2004), p. 113.

¹⁹ Hudson, “The Origins of Bagan”, p. 85.

²⁰ Sima Qian recorded of Zhang Qian’s 張騫 visit to Ferghana in the 130s BCE: “Zhang Qian in person visited the lands of Dayuan, the Great Yuezhi, and Daxia 大夏 (Bactria), and in addition he gathered reports on five or six other large states in the neighbourhood. All of his information he related to the emperor on his return. The substance of his report was as follows: ‘Dayuan (Ferghana) lies southwest of the territory of the Xiongnu, some 10,000 *li* directly west of China. The people are settled on the land, plowing the fields and growing rice and wheat. They also make wine out of grapes. The region has many fine horses which sweat blood; their forebears are supposed to have been foaled from heavenly horses. The people live in houses in fortified cities, there being some seventy or more cities of various sizes in the region. The population numbers several hundred thousand. The people fight with bows and spears and can shoot from horseback....’” Quoted from Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), II, pp. 231-246, in which he translates j. 123 of *Shi ji*.

²¹ On this drum, see Peter Bellwood, *Man’s Conquest of the Pacific: the Prehistory of Southeast Asia and Oceania* (Auckland: William Collins, 1978), p. 223, fig. 8.17. – On Funan, more generally, also references in note 28, below.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 222-224.

Robert von Heine-Geldern, the Austrian ethnologist and historian, suggested that the drum was imported into the insular realm from Funan 扶南 where it was likely manufactured in about 250 CE,²³ and this opinion has not really been seriously questioned since. (see pl. 41) Be this as it may, the horse on the drum is perhaps a war-horse – given the proximity of the weapons of war – but the illustration does not allow us to comment much further. It is certainly fitted with a bridle, seemingly with a bit, and reins, but it is not clear whether or not the horse is saddled.

In possible relation to what is portrayed on the drum, there is an intriguing third-century CE reference which has been left to us in a later Chinese text. The *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, a Chinese encyclopaedia of the tenth century, cites from a now lost third-century work *Wushi waiguo shi* 吳時外國事, which recorded the travels of the Chinese envoys Zhu Ying 朱應 and Kang Tai 康泰 to Funan and other polities in Southeast Asia in the middle of that century. It reads as follows: “The king of the country of Jiaying 加營 loves horses. Merchants of Yuezhi 月支 frequently bring ships filled with horses to the country of Jiaying and the king of the country purchases them all. If, during the journey, a horse dies, the merchants only have to show the king the head and the skin and the king will pay them half the price of the horse. It is said that when the Yuedi 月氏²⁴ merchants come to the country of Jiaying with their ships filled with horses, those who follow them locally stare at them and consider them strange.”²⁵

Ranabir Chakravarti has demonstrated conclusively the transport of horses by sea in very early medieval India.²⁶ However, the toponym Jiaying (and in another text Geying 歌營) has never been firmly identified, with suggestions as to its location ranging from the Malay peninsula to Sumatra or Java to the southern coast of India. Bratindra Nath Mukherjee follows Pelliot and Wolters in assigning Geying or Jiaying to the Malay peninsula or the east coast of Sumatra, and considers that the decoration on the Sangeang drum represented Yuezhi (Northwest Indian / Iranian) horse dealers in Southeast Asia.²⁷

Mukherjee noted that that the name Yuezhi was applied generally to the northwestern areas of the Indian subcontinent and the areas under the Kushāna empire (including North India, the Western Himalayas Bactria, Sogdia, Hindu Kush and the Pamirs) until the middle of the third century CE. He also opines that discoveries of Kharosthand Kharoshti-Brahmi inscriptions in Vanga, lower West Bengal, point to the movement of people from the Kushan area to the lower reaches of the Ganges. He suggests it was these horse traders based in Bengal who linked the horse production areas in the northwest of India to Southeast Asia. He sees as further evidence of this thesis Kharoshti inscriptions in Southeast Asia, including some at Oc-eo, with some Iranian names. Mukherjee suggests that the Vanga-Southeast Asia trade in horses ended about the fifth century.²⁸ However, he did not consider the possibility that Jiaying / Ge-ying represented the name “Keling” and was actually a reference to Kalinga.

The horses of Ferghana were not just sought by the Chinese. According to the Chinese dynastic history *Liang shu* 梁書 (635) during the Wu dynasty (220-280 CE), the king of Funan, the precursor polity to Cambodia, sent an envoy called Suwu 蘇物 to Tianzhu 天竺, a toponym commonly recognised as referring to the Indian subcontinent. He first travelled from Funan to Juli 拘利, likely on the west coast of the peninsula. Then he undertook a sea voyage to the northwest, to the mouth of the river of Tianzhu (likely the Ganges). The ruler of the local polity gave Suwu four Yuezhi horses to take back to Funan as a gift for his

²³ R. von Heine-Geldern, “The Drum Named Makalamau”, *India Antiqua* (Leiden: Brill, 1947), pp. 167-179. The drum is also discussed by H. R. van Heekeren in his “The Bronze-Iron Age in Indonesia”, *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 22 (1958), pp. 24-26 and plates 6-7.

²⁴ Likely a scribal error for Yuezhi.

²⁵ Li Fang, *Taiping yulan*, Guoxing jiben congshu, 12 vols. (Taibei: Xinxing shuju, 1959), j. 359.

²⁶ Ranabir Chakravarti, “Overseas Trade in Horses in Early Medieval India: Shipping and Piracy”, in D. C. Bhattacharyya and Devendra Handa (eds.), *Praci-prabha = Perspectives in Indology: Essays in Honour of Professor B. N. Mukherjee* (New Delhi: Harman Publishing House, 1989), pp. 343-360; and Ranabir Chakravarti, “Early Medieval Bengal and the Trade in Horses: a Note”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42.2 (1999), pp. 194-211.

²⁷ Bratindra Nath Mukherjee, “Coastal and Overseas Trade in Pre-Gupta Vanga and Kalinga”, in Ranabir Chakravarti (ed.), *Trade in Early India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 199-227. See especially pp. 204-208.

²⁸ Bratindra Nath Mukherjee, “The Angkor Records and the Iranian Cultural Elements”, in Amina Ahmed Kar, *The Angkorian Records* (Parganas: Bhaskar Bhavan, 2002), pp. 12-13.

ruler.²⁹ We thus have good evidence of Ferghana horses being traded by sea to Southeast Asia at least by the late third century CE.

Further evidence of long-distance maritime transport of horses from West Asia comes to us in a mid sixth-century work, *Topographia Christiana* by Cosmas Indicopleustes. This notes the import of horses from Persia into Sielediba / Taprobane (Sri Lanka), and links from there to China. In references to the ruler of Sielediba the author notes: “Horses they bring to him from Persia and these he buys, and grants special immunities to those who import them.”³⁰ The possibility that some of these horses were further transhipped into Southeast Asia should also be considered.

In the seventh century, we see that Southeast Asian polities were still anxious to obtain horses from beyond the region. A Southeast Asian polity, Tuohuan 陀洹, which is unidentified but noted in the *Sui shu* 隋書 of the 630s as being engaged in constant warfare with the Cambodia polity of Zhenla 真臘, is recorded in the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (compiled in 945, but recording events from 618 to 906 CE) as having requested horses and bells when its envoy went to the Tang court in 648 CE. These were provided to it, but the number of horses given is not revealed.³¹ A similar request was made to the Tang court by the country of Dvaravati, which held sway over some of the territory which today constitutes central Thailand. In 650, in exchange for the ivory and pearls which he presented to the Tang court, the ruler of Dvaravati requested some fine horses.³² It is not clear from the texts whether such requests were intended to obtain horses as some sort of prestige indicator within their own societies, or whether the horses were intended for more practical purposes such as breeding.

Yet some other Southeast Asian polities apparently had quite a supply of horses, likely the short animal which is still today the “typical” Southeast Asian horse. The *Jiu Tang shu*, provides an account of the polity of Linyi 林邑, generally considered a precursor of Champa on the coast of what is today central Vietnam, which notes that the Linyi ruler was attended by 400 followers on horse, divided into forward and rear forces. The text could have been referring to any period from the seventh to the ninth century.³³

This does mean that at least some Southeast Asian polities were employing large numbers of horses for military (or at least ceremonial) purposes by the ninth century. The earliest representation of a horse that we have for Lin-yi / Champa is that dated to the seventh or eighth century from Mỹ So’n. The animal appears to be leaping in front of a deity. The proportions of the horse suggest that the model was a local animal rather than one imported from West Asia. (see pl. 42)

In addition, the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (compiled in 1060, but recording events from 618 to 906 CE) makes note of a Southeast Asian place named Poli 婆利 and links this with horses. The reference states that this Poli, a large island one reaches after passing Chitu 赤土 and Dandan 丹丹, has many horses. The polity of Poli remains somewhat of a mystery, but most evidence suggests the island of Bali in the modern Indonesia.³⁴

There is some further archaeological evidence for Southeast Asian horses before the ninth century. Stamped potsherds from Lopburi, a Dvaravati site, and dating from the seventh to the ninth century show horses.³⁵ It is impossible to assess from where these horses came as Lopburi was tied to both maritime and

²⁹ Yao Silian 姚思廉, *Liang shu*, 3 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), III, j. 54, p. 798. On Funan: Paul Pelliot, “Le Fou-nan”, *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 3 (1903); Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese. Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula Before A.D. 1500* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1961), passim; O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce. A Study of the Origins of Srivijaya* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967), passim.

³⁰ Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, 2 vols. (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1866), I, p. 180.

³¹ Liu Xu 劉昫 et al., *Jiu Tang shu*, 16 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), XVI, j. 197, pp. 5272-5273.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 5273.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5269-5270.

³⁴ Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 and Song Qi 宋祁, *Xin Tang shu*, 20 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), XX, j. 222, p. 6299. On Poli and related names, Roderich Ptak, “Possible Chinese References to the Barus Area (Tang to Ming)”, in Claude Guillot (ed.), *Histoire de Barus, Sumatra. Le Site de Lobu Tua*. Vol. 1: *Études et documents*, Cahiers d’Archipel 30 (Paris: Association Archipel, 1998), pp. 119-147.

³⁵ My thanks to Pamaree Surakiat for providing these illustrations.

upland trade routes. Clarence-Smith, citing both Ito and Guillon, also notes that the Mon were riding horses in the eighth century and that a Mon origin is attested for the Thai word for horse.

Actually, when one examines the maritime trade to Chinese polities from those of Southeast Asia and the subcontinent through the “tribute” lists over the period from the seventh to eleventh centuries, the absence of horses being submitted to China is obvious, particularly vis-à-vis the number of elephants and rhinoceros submitted by these regions. Hans Bielenstein, who has tallied the “tribute missions” to Chinese states from Southeast Asia and the Indian subcontinent from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries, notes 39 missions submitting elephants, 11 submitting rhinoceros and only three submitting horses (953 CE from Western India; 1014 CE and 1156 CE from Jiaozhi / Vietnam).³⁶ That the Southeast Asian polities were not submitting horses to China does not mean that they were not importing their own horses, and the term *kuda* for horse was certainly being used in Javanese inscriptions prior to 929 CE.³⁷

THE HORSE IN UPLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE NINTH CENTURY

During the ninth century, the horses of the polity of Yuedan 越賧 in Nanzhao 南詔, were famed,³⁸ and were sent to the Tang court in Chang'an. The *Man shu* 蠻書 (compiled in the 860s or 870s) has a number of entries which shed light on the roles and importance of these horses and others in areas which are today parts of northern Burma and the province of Yunnan in China. The *Man shu* had this to note of the “barbarians of Wangjuzi” (望苴子蠻), who resided to the west of the Lancang 蘭滄 River:

The Wangjuzi barbarians reside to the west of the Lancang,³⁹ and they were pacified by Shengluopi 盛羅皮.⁴⁰ These people are brave and intelligent and are good at employing spears on horse-back. In riding horses they do not use saddles. They go bare-footed and wear short armour, which just covers their chests and abdomen. Their thighs and knees are unprotected. On their helmets they attach an ox-tail.⁴¹ They ride like they are flying. Their women also ride thus. When the senior generals of Nanzhao and the various commanderies dispatch troops, it is always those of Wangjuzi who are the vanguard.⁴²

Other sections note:

Yongchang 永昌 City⁴³ is the ancient Ailao 哀牢 region, and is six day-stages distant from Tiancang 玷蒼 Mountain ... In the city there is a temple to a divinity. It is customary for all to show it great respect and hold it in awe, and people make offerings and prayers there without end. *Man* 蠻 and *yi* 夷 people who ride horses will, when first seeing the temple for the distance, dismount and go past the temple on foot.⁴⁴

Horses come from Yuedan 越賧, in the region to the east of the river with the mountains to the west. The land gradually slopes downward, with intermittent rises, and falls like the low walls between field. There are springs and excellent grass suited to horses. When the horses are first born, they are like lambs or kids. After a year, they knot grass into a bridle in order to halter it. For three years, they feed it on rice porridge. After four to five years, the horse is quite mature, and by the sixth or seventh year, it is considered full-grown. Those with high tails are particularly excellent and swift, and can travel several hundred *li* 里⁴⁵ in one day. Most of the original stock were piebald, and thus for generations they were called Yuedan piebalds. In recent years, however, there has been a preference for white horses. Tengchong 藤充 and Shendan 申賧 also produce horses. Those of Cidan 次賧 and Dianchi 滇池 are particularly excellent. Among the Western Cuan 東爨 and the Wu barbarians 烏蠻, there are also horses, but

³⁶ See Hans Bielenstein, *Diplomacy and Trade in the Chinese World 589-1276* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 83-86.

³⁷ Antoinette M. Barrett Jones, *Early Tenth Century Java from the Inscriptions: A Study of the Economic, Social and Administrative Conditions in the First Quarter of the Century* (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1984), p. 57. See also a similar claim for pre-ninth century introduction in Jan Wisseman Christie, “The Agricultural Economies of Early Java and Bali”, in Boomgaard and Henly, *Smallholders*, pp. 47-68.

³⁸ Both the *Man shu* (Book of the Barbarians) and the *Xin Tang Shu* (New History of the Tang Dynasty) listed the horses of Yuedan as being the best of Nanzhao.

³⁹ This refers to the upper reaches of the Mekong, which would locate this people in modern western Yun-nan or northern Burma.

⁴⁰ A Nanzhao ruler who ruled over the period 712-728.

⁴¹ Alternatively, a reference to a yak-tail.

⁴² An alternative translation of this section is available in Gordon H. Luce (translator), G. P. Oey (ed.), *Man Shu: (Book of the Southern Barbarians)* (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1961), p. 41. A similar, but much shorter account of the people of Wangjuzi, is contained in j. 239 of the *Xin Tang shu* of 1060 CE.

⁴³ A city located near today's Baoshan in Yunnan Province.

⁴⁴ See also Luce and Oey, *Man Shu*, p. 60.

⁴⁵ A *li* was equivalent to approximately one third of a mile.

fewer than in Yuedan. All are left in the wild, and no stables are established for them. Only at Yangjumie 陽苴咩, Dali 大釐 and Tengchuan 騰川 are stables provided and there they feed several hundred horses.⁴⁶

When referring to rhinoceros hide, Fan Chuo 樊綽, the author of *Man shu*, noted: “The barbarians generally use rhinoceros hide for armour, horse equipment and the armour and insignia of the cavalry.”⁴⁷ In another passage, it is noted in passing that horse meat was also eaten. Again, the huge importance of the horse to these people of the Yunnan region is apparent from these texts.

THE HORSE IN ISLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE NINTH CENTURY

Although they were physically “mainland” Southeast Asian polities, the successive Champa polities were also intimately tied to the sea. There is evidence of horse use within the various Champa societies from possibly the seventh century onwards. Vietnamese archaeologists assign an eighth-century date to a pair of polo players featured on a frieze. Whether this is too early remains moot, but it may have been the case that polo was being played in Champa by the eighth century. My doubts about the date stem from the fact that the players ride with stirrups and full saddles, which do not appear in some later sculptures. The size of the horses suggests imported stock. (see pl. 43)

A ceremonial function for the horse in Champa can also be seen in a ninth-century image from a Dong Duong altar, which suggests that the horse is carrying an offering as part of a religious activity. The role of horses in entertainment is also suggested by a fragment showing a dancer performing on a horse bareback.

On Java, the monumental Buddhist stupa of Borobodur, created between the middle of the eighth century and the middle of the ninth century, constitutes one of the great vestiges of Mahayana Buddhism in the island. The monument is covered with wall reliefs depicting the life of the Buddha. While the age represented in the murals was nominally the fifth to the sixth century BCE, the way in which life, clothing and animals were depicted undoubtedly represented the daily-life known personally by the Javanese of the eighth and ninth centuries CE. A few horses are depicted, fully saddled and bridled, with stirrups.

HORSES IN EAST ASIA IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

Following the period of disorder which occurred with the end of the Tang in the early tenth century, a new dynasty was to emerge. The first Song emperor declared the new dynasty in 960 CE and during the 160 years of the northern Song, the unwillingness of the northern nomad polities of the Jin, Liao and Mongols to provide the Song with a large number of horses, saw the Song establishing horse markets in Sichuan, where horses were traded for silk and tea.

But the horses proved not to be sufficient and the Song were pushed south of the Yangzi River in the 1120s partly through their lack of cavalry. It was then that major efforts were made to obtain further supplies of horses for the cavalry, and it was thus that the Song turned to the northern Southeast Asian polity of Dali 大理, the successor to Nanzhao, and also established more markets in Guangxi.

The horse was to play a significant role in relations between the Southern Song court and Champa. The *Song huiyao* 宋會要, which records details of the relations between the Song court and the polities surrounding the Song state, noted that in 963, the Cham ruler received in response to his tribute / trade mission to the Song a saddled horse from the Song emperor. Two white horses were given to the Cham ruler in 992 “as those of Champa liked white horses”. This was repeated in 995 and “gradually this became a standing practice.” However, for reasons not truly clear, in 1010 CE, the Champa king “also advised that while each year the Emperor conferred upon Champa white horses, they were not appropriate for use in the

⁴⁶ An alternative translation of this section is available in Luce and Oey, *Man Shu*, p. 71.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 72.

their land and he requested that they be given two yellow-red⁴⁸ horses, armoured horses, horse masks (馬面), five swords and daggers decorated with silver flowers and gilded ...⁴⁹

THE HORSE IN UPLAND AND MAINLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

In his *Lingwai daida* 嶺外代答 of 1178, Zhou Qufei 周去非, an author who lived during the Song dynasty, provides further details about horses in that nebulous region between South China and Southeast Asia. He notes that the “Southwestern barbarians” presented horses as “tribute” to the Song court. He also notes that most came from Dali and that they were brought there for sale by both various barbarian tribes and Tibetans.⁵⁰

Dali was, at this time, an independent polity and one of the few paintings left to us from the Dali of the late twelfth century is a scroll depicting various aspects of Buddhism.⁵¹ It depicts a horse next to an elephant showing respect to a deity.

Zhou Qufei, when writing of horse procurement policies of the Song state, recorded that “the Court’s horse procurement policies in the south are administered from Yongzhou 邕州. The rare and strange items procured on the borders are also mainly brought together in Yongzhou.” Yongzhou was the name of the city which was to become the modern Nanning, capital of Guangxi province.

He went on to provide further details: “During the Yuanfeng reign (1078-1086 CE), the Guangxi Military Office established an office with one official in Yongzhou, with sole responsibility for making arrangements for horses purchases with the native officials of the Left and Right Rivers. In the third year of the Shaoxing reign (1133/1134) a Horse-purchasing Superintendency was established in Yongzhou. In the sixth year (1136/1137), it was ordered that the military command jointly control it.”⁵²

It appears from other sections of this text that most horses came from Dali, and then through Yizhou 宜州 (today’s Yishan 宜山 in Guangxi). Yang Bin informs that the average annual quota for purchase in Guangxi was 1,500 head, but sometimes this figure reached 3,000 to 4,000 head. Fang Guoyu 方國瑜 estimated that the average scale of horse trading in Guangxi was worth about 70,000 taels of silver, based on 1,500 head per year and 30 to 70 taels per head.⁵³

An interesting ritual use of horses was also detailed in the *Lingwai daida*:

Fighting the White Horse: When a man of Guangdong / Guangxi experiences the death of the mother or father of his wife, then the son-in-law, when going to offer sacrifices, has to ride a white horse, with two placards and staff-bearers going ahead of him as guides. When he nears the home of his wife’s family, he will stop the horse and wait. The wife’s family will then have their two staff bearers face off against them. This is called “fighting the white horse”. If the son-in-law wins, the sacrifices can be submitted. If he is not successful, then the sacrifices cannot be offered. It is thus that the son-in-law’s side will certainly win, as only thus can the sacrifices be received.⁵⁴

In his account of the country of Annam, Zhou notes that their “tribute” submitted to the Song court in 1156 C.E. included “six imperial horses, with corresponding saddles, bridles and reins, eight standard tribute horses, and five trained elephants”.⁵⁵ It appears that at this time the Vietnamese continued to source their horses from the Yunnan region in the upper reaches of the Red River.

⁴⁸ Likely chestnut-colour horses.

⁴⁹ Geoff Wade, *Champa in the Song hui-yao: A Draft Translation*, Asia Research Institute Working Paper No. 53 (December 2005), <http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/showfile.asp?pubid=371&type=2>.

⁵⁰ Zhou Qufei (author), Yang Wuquan 楊武泉 (ed.), *Lingwai daida jiaozhu* 嶺外代答校注, Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), pp. 349-350. For a full translation of Zhou’s text, see Almut Netolitzky, *Das Ling-wai tai-ta von Chou Ch’ü-fei. Eine Landeskunde Südchinas aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*, Münchener Ostasiatische Studien 21 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977).

⁵¹ Painted by Zhang Shenwen 張勝溫 in 1180 CE, the scroll was produced for King Lizhen 利貞 of the Dali Kingdom. The scroll is today held in the Taipei Museum.

⁵² Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, pp. 47-48.

⁵³ Yang Bin, “Horses, Silver and Cowries”.

⁵⁴ Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, pp. 431-432.

⁵⁵ Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, p. 58.

Li Tana⁵⁶ notes that for Lý Đại Việt, one of the most important trade items was horses. Li cites the Vietnamese history *Việt sử lược* which records that in 1128, the Lý court ordered that the ordinary people be forbidden from riding on horses as a gesture of mourning for the recently deceased Emperor Nhân Tông.⁵⁷ This suggests a quite widespread usage of horses among the ordinary population. Horses were obtained through trade and raiding of the Mon-Khmer and Tai peoples to Đại Việt's west. The Viet reportedly captured 10,000 such horses in raids in 1012.

But trade was another route by which horses were obtained. Li notes also the importance of the (modern) Vĩ Long region as a source for these horses, to the degree where even Lý princesses were married off to indigenous nobility in that region.⁵⁸ The Viet used salt to trade for these horses. It appears that horses were one of the main reasons that Nanzhao was invited by local rulers to invade the Jiaozhou region (under the control of the Tang) in 846, 860, 862 and 863 and occupy it from 863 to 865. It also appears that this invitation was issued after Li Zhuo 李涿, the Chinese governor of the Tang protectorate of Annam, had enforced an unreasonably low price in the exchange rate between horses and salt.⁵⁹

Horses were also one of the most important trade commodities that the Cham obtained from the Viet, and the *Song huiyao* notes that the Cham rode on horses obtained through trade with Jiaozhou.⁶⁰ Of Champa, Zhou Qufei noted:

Champa ... to the north abuts Jiaozhi and to the south borders Zhenla (Cambodia). It is subject to Jiaozhi and is always feuding with Zhenla. In the *guisi* 癸巳 year of the Qiandao reign [1173/1174], a Fujian person selected from Xiban 西班, obtained a post in the Jiyang 吉陽 Military Command,⁶¹ as a sea-going official. He was blown by winds to Champa. There he observed how that country engaged in warfare with Zhenla on elephants, with neither side managing to score a firm victory. He thus discussed with the king the benefits of cavalry warfare, and taught them how to use bows and crossbows on horseback. The Champa king was greatly pleased, and he sent him by boat back to Jiyang with great rewards. The king then wanted to buy horses and he obtained a few tens. With these they battled and achieved victory. The following year they again came, with a large number of attendants. The Jiyang Commandery refused them as they had no horses and they then sent them to the Qiongzhou 瓊州 administration.⁶² The Qiongzhou administration would not receive them and thus they angrily returned home. They never came again.⁶³

Further details of this can be found in the *Song huiyao*:

On the tenth day of the ninth month in the second year of the reign (26 September 1175), there was command noting that that the *man* 蠻⁶⁴ king of the country of Champa had been in unofficial communication with the officials of Qiong[zhou], and had sent men in ships across the sea to Hainan to buy horses. The local officials had prohibited this and, angered, [the Chams] returned and looted people and property. It was ordered that the military official Zhang Shi 張栻 draft to give to the Qiong officials in response, instructing [Champa] that China's horses have never been permitted to be sent beyond the borders, and instructing them to return the people and other things plundered and to make no more disturbance in future. In addition, Zhang Shi was instructed to give written warning that the Court knows than Lin Baoci 林寶慈 of the Jiyang Army and the magistrate Wang Sanjun 王三俊 had guided people of Champa there to openly buy horses, with the aim of making great profits. Now this office will urgently obtain and check the records and memorialise in advice.⁶⁵

⁵⁶ Li Tana, "A View from the Sea: Perspectives on the Northern and Central Vietnamese Coasts", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 37 (2006), pp. 83-102. See especially pp. 88-89. On horses also: Li Tana, "The Rise and Fall of the Jiaozhi Ocean Region", in Angela Schottenhammer and Roderich Ptak (eds.), *The Perception of Maritime Space in Traditional Chinese Sources*, East Asian Maritime History 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), pp. 134-137.

⁵⁷ Li, "A View from the Sea", p. 88.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁵⁹ For details of this period, see Keith Weller Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 240-246. See also *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* ngoại kỷ 5, 8b-9a.

⁶⁰ Wade, *Champa in the Song hui-yao*, pp. 4-5.

⁶¹ Located on the island of Hainan.

⁶² Qiongzhou: the island of Hainan generally, and specifically Qiongzhou on the north of the island (located near the modern capital of Haikou), which was the seat of regional government.

⁶³ Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, p. 77.

⁶⁴ A generic term for non-Chinese.

⁶⁵ Wade, *Champa in the Song huiyao*, p. 27.

The Cham sculptures of this age occasionally feature horses, in their various social functions. One piece shows a pair of horses with a rider straddling the two animals, suggesting some sort of sport. The horse-drawn war chariot with seated archer had also become a part of regional warfare by the eleventh to twelfth century, as reflected in the following frieze fragment of that date from Binh Dinh. (see pl. 44)

In the great Angkorean empire which lay to the south and west of Champa, there is also material evidence of horse use at this time. On the bas-relief of Angkor Wat, built in the twelfth century, one sees the image of an army commander astride a horse. The horse is unsaddled, there are no stirrups and the horse is controlled by reins and a bit. (see pl. 45)

On the other side of mainland Southeast Asia, Zhou Qufei recorded that in Pagan, “they have horses which they ride unsaddled”.⁶⁶

Possible horse-trading links between India and Southeast Asia are also suggested by Zhou Qufei’s account of Quilon in southern India, which includes the following: “The country of Kampar (Jianpi 監篋) yearly trades in horses and cattle, while the Arabs trade in horses, and they come to this country [Quilon] to sell their products.”⁶⁷ It appears that Kampar is the place of that name located in Sumatra, while the reference to the Arabs (Dashi 大食) allows no specific origin to be ascertained. However, in another part of his text, Zhou records of the country of Ghazni (Jicini 吉慈尼) that it “raises many camels and horses”,⁶⁸ which perhaps suggests one of the origins of “Arab” horses at this time. If Sumatran traders were trading animals to Quilon, it was entirely possible that they were also purchasing horses in Quilon for transport back to Sumatra, but this remains but conjecture.

THE HORSE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

The Venetian traveller Marco Polo provides us with some interesting accounts of horses in Asia in the last decades of the thirteenth century. Of Maabar (a generic Arabic name for the Coromandel coast and parts of Malabar), he records:

Here are no horses bred; and thus a great part of the wealth of the country is wasted on purchasing horses; I will tell you how. You must know that the merchants of Kis and Hormus, Dofar and Soer and Aden collect great numbers of destriers⁶⁹ and other horses, and these they bring to the territories of this king and of his four brothers, who are kings likewise as I told you. For a horse will fetch among them 500 *saggi* of gold, worth more than 100 marks of silver, and vast numbers are sold there each year. Indeed this king wants to buy more than 2000 horses every year, and so do his four brothers who are kings likewise. The reason why they want so many horses every year is that by the end of the year there shall be not one hundred of them remaining, for they all die off. And this arises from mismanagement, for these people do not know in the least how to treat a horse; and besides they have no farriers. The horse-merchants not only never bring any farriers with them, but also prevent any farrier from going thither, lest that should in any degree baulk the sale of horses, which brings them in every year such gains. They bring these horses by sea aboard ship.⁷⁰

The ports from which these horses were obtained were obviously the island of Kish as well as Hormuz in the Persian Gulf, Dhufar which is south of Oman, Sohar the former capital of Oman, and Aden, which retains its name today. The horses of “Arabia” were obviously in great demand on the Coromandel Coast, and there is much likelihood that that appeal extended across the Bay of Bengal to the societies of Southeast Asia.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, p. 84.

⁶⁷ Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, p. 91.

⁶⁸ Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, p. 100.

⁶⁹ Destrier is an historical term for a knight’s war horse. The term destrier is derived from the vulgar Latin *dextrarius*, meaning “right-hand”.

⁷⁰ Henry Yule and Henri Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, 2 vols. (London, John Murray, 1903), II, p. 340.

⁷¹ Another source which reflects the same situation (and perhaps served as a source for Marco Polo), is Abdullah Wassaf’s, *Tazjiyat-ul-Amsar*, of the thirteenth century, translated in Henry Eliot and John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians: the Muhammadan period*, vol. 3 (London: Trübner and Co., 1867), pp. 31 et seq. Wassaf recorded: “It was a matter of agreement that Malik-ul-Islam Jamaluddin and the merchants should embark every year from the island of Kais and land at Ma’bar 1,400 horses of his own breed ... It was also agreed that he should embark as many as he could procure from all the isles

On mainland Southeast Asia, Marco Polo is also informative about the role of horses. In his description of the ruler of Mien (Burma) and his warfare with armies of the “Great Kaan” – the Mongol ruler – in the 1270s, Polo noted: “So the king prepared a great force and munitions of war; and he had, let me tell you, 2,000 great elephants on each of which was set a tower of timber, well-framed and strong, and carrying from twelve to sixteen well-armed fighting men. And besides these, he had of horseman and of footmen good 60,000 men.”⁷² The Mongol forces reportedly consisted of 12,000 horsemen.⁷³ The ensuing battle as described by Marco Polo is worth reading as an example of a battle between the Burmese elephant-led forces and the Yuan cavalry. The latter reportedly ended victorious through their use of better bows rather through any advantage of their horses.⁷⁴

He also notes of the people of Anin⁷⁵ – a polity apparently somewhere in the hill tracts of the modern Yunnan or northern Burma – that: “They have plenty of horses which they sell in great numbers to the Indians, making a great profit thereby. And they also have vast herds of buffaloes and oxen, having excellent pastures for these.”⁷⁶

The mainland Southeast Asian trade routes, linking mainland Southeast Asia with Lhasa, with southern China, and with Bengal, along which horses as well as other were used and traded during the period from the thirteenth century are suggested by various studies.

The murals found in the temples of Bagan also provide us with a few examples of illustrations of horses of that period. The illustrations refer to either *Jataka* tales or more secular affairs, but whether the horses depicted reflect contemporary horses of thirteenth-century Pagan or imagined horses of the past remains unknown.

Looking further to the east, when we examine the standard dynastic history of the Mongol Yuan dynasty – *Yuan shi* 元史 – under the account of Xian 暹 (Siam), we read of the great ritual importance of horses in the relations between the Yuan court and polities to the south.

In the third year of the Dade reign (1299/1300 CE), the ruler of the country of Xian memorialised to the Emperor noting that when his father was on the throne, the Court conferred upon him a saddle and bridle, a white horse and gold-embroidered clothing. He requested that, in accordance with the ancient precedents, he also have these conferred upon him. The senior minister Öljäi-darqan advised: “Theirs is a small country. If we confer a horse upon them, I am concerned that their neighbours Xindu 新度 (India) and so on, will ridicule the Court.” It was thus that the Emperor conferred upon him gold-embroidered clothing, but did not confer a horse.⁷⁷

ISLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Zhao Rugua’s 趙汝适 famous work *Zhufan zhi* 諸蕃志,⁷⁸ which is generally assigned the date of 1225 CE, is widely valued by scholars for the overview it provides of polities beyond China and the maritime trade

of Persia, such as Katif, Lahsa, Bahrein, Hurmuz, and Kalhatu. The price of each horse was fixed from of old at 220 dinars of red gold, on this condition, that if any horses should happen to die, the value of them should be paid from the royal treasury. It is related by authentic writers that in the reign of Atabek Abu Bakr of (Fars), 10,000 horses were annually exported from these places to Ma’bar, Kambayat and other ports in their neighbourhood, and the sum total of their value amounted to 2,200,000 dinars ... They bind them for 40 days in a stable with ropes and pegs, in order that they may get fat; and afterwards, without taking measures for training, and without stirrups or other appurtenances of riding, the Indian soldiers ride upon them like demons ... In a short time, the most strong, swift, fresh and active horses becaome weak, slow, useless and stupid. In short, they all become wretched and good for nothing..There is therefore, a constant necessity of getting new horses annually.” See Yule and Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, pp. 348-349, Note 7.

⁷² Ibid., II, pp. 98-99.

⁷³ Ibid., II, p. 101

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 101-114.

⁷⁵ Possibly just a phonetic representation of Yunnan?

⁷⁶ Yule and Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, p. 119.

⁷⁷ Song Lian 宋濂, *Yuan shi*, 15 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), XV, j. 210, p. 4664.

⁷⁸ Zhao Rugua (author), Yang Bowen 楊博文 (ed.): *Zhufan zhi jiaoshi* 諸蕃志校釋, Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996). For an English translation, see Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill (tr.), *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the*

which tied these polities together in the early thirteenth century. The references relating to horses are found in the sections on Cambodia, Pagan, Lambri, Java and Gujarat:

Cambodia. The description of Zhenla, the term by which the Chinese knew the polity of Angkor, included the following: “The adornment and clothing of the king is generally similar to that of the king of Champa, but in the ceremony and number of followers in his excursions, he exceeds him. Sometimes he rides in a carriage, which is drawn by two horses, or sometimes buffalo.” It was further noted: “They have something in the order of 200,000 war elephants as well as horses which, although numerous, are small.”⁷⁹

Pagan. In a claim probably taken from the *Lingwai daida* reference noted above, Zhao noted: “The country has many horses which they ride unsaddled.”⁸⁰

Lambri. It is recorded of this northern Sumatran polity that foreign traders coming to this place bring as trade goods, sandalwood, cloves, camphor, gold, silver, porcelain wares, horses, elephants and silks. It is also recorded that it annually offered tribute to Srivijaya (Sanfoqi 三佛齊).⁸¹

Java. “In the fifth month, [the people of the country] go on excursions in boats, while in the tenth month, they go to visit the hills, travelling on either small horses or in a litter.” Furthermore: “They slaughter horses and buffalo for food.”⁸²

An interesting artefact from East Java is a wheeled miniature horse in bronze, representing possibly a cavalry soldier of the Mongol forces which arrived in Java in the late thirteenth century. The horse is saddled, but stirrups are apparently absent.

There are several other known artefacts from Java of this period which reflect the roles of horses at this time. A Majapahit hanging lamp in bronze, featuring a man and a woman riding a horse, and dating from the fourteenth century, is held the National Museum, Jakarta.⁸³

Gujarat. In the *Zhufan zhi* account of the kingdom of Gujarat, it is noted that “they have over 400 war elephants and about 100,000 war-horses. When the king goes out and about, he rides an elephant and wears a crown. His followers all ride horses and carry swords.”⁸⁴

There is also a wide range of references in *Zhufan zhi* to the role of horses in the various polities of the Arab world in the early thirteenth century, but these fall beyond the scope of this paper.

THE HORSE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

Wang Dayuan’s 汪大淵 *Daoyi zhilue* 島夷誌略 of 1349 provides the most detailed single account of Southeast Asian ports and polities for this period. It includes however only a small range of references to horses within the region. Of Panduranga, a Cham polity in what is today southern Vietnam, it is noted that “The country’s ruler rides elephants or horses.”⁸⁵ Separately, Ibn Battuta, of Java which he referred to as Mul-Jawa, noted that: “Nobody has horses there except the sultan.”⁸⁶

In examining the roles of horses in Southeast Asia in the fifteenth century, we have more numerous but not necessarily more detailed accounts. One of the key texts is the *Ming shilu* 明實錄, a generic name for the successive reign annals of the Ming emperors, which provides a wide range of references to Southeast

Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi (rpt. Taipei: Ch’eng-wen Publishing Company, 1967).

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 52-53 (for a similar translation).

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 58.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 73.

⁸² Ibid., p. 77.

⁸³ For details of this piece, see the *Treasures of Ancient Indonesian Kingdoms* exhibition catalogue (National Museum, Tokyo, 1997), p. 186.

⁸⁴ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 92.

⁸⁵ Wang Dayuan (author), Su Jiqing 蘇繼順 (ed.), *Daoyi zhilue jiaoshi* 島夷誌略校釋, Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), pp. 63.

⁸⁶ H. A. R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta A.D. 1325-1354* (translated with revisions and notes from the Arabic text edited by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, completed with annotations by C. F. Beckingham), 4 vols. (rpt. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1994), IV, p. 883.

Asia,⁸⁷ including many references to horses in Southeast Asia (including the many Tai polities of “Yunnan”) over the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. Roderich Ptak has used some of these references in detailing the Asian maritime trade in horses in the fifteenth century.⁸⁸ The *Ming shilu* references of relevance to this paper are those up to the end of the fifteenth century, and they reveal the diverse functions of horses during this age.

The horse as ritual gift. The Ming emperors occasionally gave Southeast Asian rulers saddled horses as some form of recognition and probably as a means to allow those rulers to assert their authority within their own societies. Here is one example: “A gold and jade belt, ceremonial insignia and a horse with saddle were conferred upon Parameswara, the king of the country of Melaka. Headwear and robes were conferred upon the king’s consort.”⁸⁹

The ruler of Champa was also given horses in reward: “I am now conferring on you gold dragon robes, fine horses and other goods. They are for your receipt.”⁹⁰ Similar gifts of saddled horses were made to rulers of Sulu in 1417.⁹¹

The horse as a form of taxation. In areas of Yunnan, local polities were subject to Ming economic demands which included silver, gold and horse payments in lieu of corvée labour. “When these orders arrive, payment of all the gold, silver and horses due in lieu of labour before the fourth year of the Zhengtong reign (1439/40) is to be temporarily exempted and the recovery of government property (追官物) is to be halted.”⁹²

The horse as a transportation tool. When Ming forces were sent against the Tai Mao leader Si Jifa 思機發 in 1449, “over 1,000 horses were sent for the purpose of carrying grain”.⁹³

The horse as a communication tool. When the Ming invaded and occupied Đại Việt, they quickly established a range of offices to control, administer, and economically exploit the region. One of the earliest types of offices to be established was the horse station to allow the new colony / province speedy communication with the metropole. For example, in the first year of occupation, we read: “Seven courier horse stations were established at Jiang 姜 Bridge in Qinglian 清廉 County, Bao Fu 保福 in Baofu County, Jialin 嘉林 in Jialin County, Shi 市 Bridge in Wuning 武寧 County, Yong'an 永安 in Pinglu 平陸 County, Shengyao 生藥 in Liping 黎平 County and Qinzhan 芹站 in Baolu 保祿 County”.⁹⁴

The horse as tribute. Polities in Southeast Asia often submitted horses to the Ming state as part of their “tribute gifts”, which were in effect trade goods. The following example relates to a 1376 mission from Lampung in Sumatra: “The envoy Wulalilasha 吾刺里刺沙 and others who had been sent by Sri Maharajhadhirat, the king of the country of Lanbang 覽邦, presented a memorial and offered tribute of horse, sapan-wood, as well as sandalwood, laka-wood, pepper, peacocks and other goods.”⁹⁵

⁸⁷ For English translations of *Ming shilu* references to Southeast Asia, see Geoff Wade (tr.), *Southeast Asia in the Ming Shi-lu: an Open Access Resource* (Singapore: Asia Research Institute and the Singapore E-Press, National University of Singapore), at <http://www.ePress.nus.edu.sg/msl/>.

⁸⁸ Ptak, Roderich, “Pferde auf See: ein vergessener Aspekt des maritimen chinesischen Handels im frühen 15. Jahrhundert”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34 (1991), pp. 199-233.

⁸⁹ *Ming Taizong shilu*, j. 118, 1a (20 Aug 1411).

⁹⁰ *Ming Taizu shilu*, j. 126, 5a (10 Nov 1379).

⁹¹ *Ming Taizong shilu*, j. 192, 2a (18 Sep 1417).

⁹² *Ming Yingzong shilu*, j. 71, 3a (28 Sep 1440).

⁹³ *Ming Yingzong shilu*, j. 179, 7b-8b (8 Jul 1449).

⁹⁴ *Ming Taizong shilu*, j. 68, 3b-7a (5 July 1407).

⁹⁵ *Ming Taizu shilu*, j. 108, 2a (1 Sep 1376).

Similar examples of polities submitting horses to China as “tribute” are seen for Java (1377),⁹⁶ Champa (1378),⁹⁷ Siam (1389),⁹⁸ Samudera (1409),⁹⁹ Bengal (1412),¹⁰⁰ Burma (1413),¹⁰¹ Lanna (1450),¹⁰² Cambodia (1452),¹⁰³ Laos (1424)¹⁰⁴ and other. However, these all appear to have been in small quantities.

The source of some of these horses is suggested by the fact that in 1415, the Javanese ruler submitted to the Ming court “Western horses” (西馬), suggesting an Arab source.¹⁰⁵ The fact that the Chinese chroniclers made special mention of the origin of these horses suggests that the usual horses submitted were locally produced.

Some polities obviously had access to a greater number of horses than others. Those predominantly Tai and Austroasiatic polities of the northern Southeast Asian highlands provided horses to the Ming in larger quantities. Jingdong 景東 (Kengtung in the modern northern Burma) is an example: “E Tao 俄陶, native chieftain of Jingdong, presented 160 horses, 3,100 *liang* 兩 of silver and two trained elephants. It was Imperially commanded that Jing-dong Prefecture be established, that E Tao take charge of prefectural affairs and that patterned fine silk robes be conferred upon him.”¹⁰⁶

Most of the Tai polities of what are today Yunnan or northern Burma provided horses as “tribute” to the Ming court, and a vast range of such references can be gleaned from the *Ming shi-lu*.

The horse as a war tool. From the *Ming shilu* references we can observe that, like the Ming forces, the Vietnamese also used horses as a war tool, but not necessarily for cavalry. In discussing Ming attacks on Vietnamese who were opposed to the Ming occupation of Đại Việt, we read: “The Imperial army pursued him to Jili Ce 吉利冊 in Meiliang 美良 County, where Jian Ding 簡定 and his gang were lodging with the people. When they saw in the distance the strength of the Imperial army, they left their horses as well as their seals, belts and other property and fled into the hills to hide.”¹⁰⁷

The use of the horse by the occupying forces in Đại Việt is shown by what Lê Lợi, the victorious Viet leader, sent back to the Ming after driving their forces out in 1427: “There only remained 280 military officials, 157 civil officials and clerks, 15,170 soldiers and 1,200 horses.”¹⁰⁸

When engaged in wars of expansion on its southern (Southeast Asian) border, the Ming also required the provision of horses from polities it had forced or threatened into submission. An example from 1433 when preparations for war among the Tai polities in Yunnan was being planned is instructive:

Native officials from the three pacification superintendencies of Mubang 木邦, Luchuan 麓川 / Pingmian 平緬 and Ava-Burma, the three prefectures of Mengding 孟定, Jingdong and Wusa 烏撒, the seven subprefectures of Weiyuan 威遠, Guangyi 廣邑, Zhenkang 鎮康, Wan Dian 灣甸, Nan Dian 南甸, Dahou 大侯 and Tengchong 騰衝, the Lujiang 路江 Pacification Office and the four chief’s offices of Ganyai 干崖, Chashan 茶山, Wa Dian 瓦甸 and Menglian 孟連 all offered tribute of elephants, horses and local products. The eunuch official Yun Xian 雲仙 and others had been sent to confer Imperial orders of comfort on them and also to confer upon them ramie-silk, silk gauzes and velvet brocades as appropriate. At this time, the Mubang Pacification Superintendent Han Menfa 罕門法 memorialized that the Luchuan / Pingmian Pacification Superintendent Si Renfa 思任發 and others had attacked and occupied his territory. Si Renfa and Mang Dela, the pacification superintendent of Ava-Burma, also memorialized that Han Menfa had used troops to invade their territory and commit depredations. The Menglian Chief’s Office also memorialized that Mengding Prefecture had attacked and occupied its territory. The Emperor ordered the regional commander and Qianguo Duke 黔國公 Mu Sheng 沐晟, the three offices of Yunnan and the regional inspecting censor to

⁹⁶ *Ming Taizu shilu*, j. 116, 1b (9 Dec 1377).

⁹⁷ *Ming Taizu shilu*, j. 121, 1b (25 Nov 1378).

⁹⁸ *Ming Taizu shilu*, j. 195, 2a (12 Feb 1389).

⁹⁹ *Ming Taizong shilu*, j. 97, 4a (3 Dec 1409).

¹⁰⁰ *Ming Taizong shilu*, j. 129, 4a-b (30 Jul 1412).

¹⁰¹ *Ming Taizong shilu*, j. 145, 3b (20 Dec 1413).

¹⁰² *Ming Yingzong shilu*, j. 192, 4a-b (14 Jun 1450).

¹⁰³ *Ming Yingzong shilu*, j. 219, 10a (11 Sep 1452).

¹⁰⁴ *Ming Renzong shilu*, j. 2C, 4a (10 Oct 1424).

¹⁰⁵ *Ming Taizong shilu*, j. 162, 3b (29 Apr 1415).

¹⁰⁶ *Ming Taizu shilu*, j. 143, 3a (13 Apr 1382).

¹⁰⁷ *Ming Taizong shilu*, j. 98, 1b-2a (16 Dec 1409).

¹⁰⁸ *Ming Xuanzong shilu*, j. 64, 4a-5b (3 Apr 1430).

ascertain the veracity of the claims and to decide the cases appropriately. The Mengyang 孟養 Pacification Superintendency was re-established and Dao Mengshu 刀孟墅, the son of Dao Mengdan 刀孟旦, the deceased pacification superintendent, was appointed as pacification superintendent, and required, together with the deputy Dao Yubin 刀玉賓, to pacify the soldiers and people and to fulfil tribute obligations and pay taxes like before.”¹⁰⁹

In 1469, we have the following Ming order preparing for major warfare: “It was ordered that the *fan* and the *yi* in the areas of Yunnan, Guizhou, Huguang, Sichuan and Guangxi present horses and that the horses be immediately provided to the border military forces for cavalry training.”¹¹⁰

The horse as war booty / reparations. When the Ming forces fought against and defeated the Tai Mao polity of Luchuan in the 1380s, the following orders were sent:

An envoy was sent with instructions for the Xiping Marquis 西平侯 Mu Ying 沐英. The instructions read: “Your report has recently been received and it is known that you have destroyed the Baiyi 百夷 and that Si Lunfa 思倫發 has fled. ... If they want to offer tribute and request that the troops be withdrawn, you should instruct them in the Great Precepts of Right Conduct, require them to repay the funds we have expended and have them present to the Court 15,000 horses and the bodies of troops who were killed in Jingdong. They are also to be instructed to offer as tribute 500 elephants, 30,000 buffalo and 300 elephant attendants. If they listen to orders and offer tribute in the amounts specified, their request to surrender should be allowed.”¹¹¹

A further reference notes of one of the battles:

In the 21st year (1388/1389), the Baiyi occupied strategic positions and engaged in revolt. The bandit general Dao Silang 刀思郎 and so on gathered over 100,000 troops and over 100 elephants against the opposing force. Zheng 正 led the troops in following the Xiping Marquis Mu Ying into battle. They killed two generals and the bandit troops fled. All of the enemy’s elephants and horses were captured.¹¹²

As noted above, in many cases, polities on the southern Chinese / northern Southeast Asian borders were required to submit horses as annual tribute to the Ming court. These were not necessarily fine animals as is illustrated by the following entry:

Previously, as many of the horses presented in lieu of labour by the *yi* people under Yunnan could not be used, the three offices of Yunnan memorialized and obtained approval for a proposal that for each horse due, an amount of 13 *liang* of silver be levied, and that the silver so obtained be stored in the treasury until there was an expedition, when it could be provided to the army for purchasing horses and paying for training. At this time, the *yi* people all complained that the silver price was too heavy and that they wished to continue to pay in horses. The Emperor, considering that they were distant *yi*, allowed this for their convenience.¹¹³

How did the eunuch-led Ming naval expeditions of the early fifteenth century affect the horse situation in Southeast Asia? The armadas did take with them a large number of horses and had ships dedicated to their transport. Haraprasad Ray notes that during the treasure ship voyages, horses were the most costly item of all sought by the Chinese missions. Indian horse traders had sought horses through Sindh, Gujarat, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh and even to Chittagong, but the Indians could not meet the demands of the Chinese. It was thus that Yongle had established horse markets to the north of China to allow Jurchen and Mongols to sell horses and camels in exchange for textiles, grains etc.¹¹⁴ Also in the 1420s, Bengal was re-exporting to China horses and saddles. The saddles were worked in gold and silver. The origin/s of these products is not clear, but Ray suggests that these were not local products.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ *Ming Xuanzong shilu*, j. 106, 8b (15 Nov 1433).

¹¹⁰ *Ming Xianzong shilu*, j. 63, 2b (19 Feb 1469).

¹¹¹ *Ming Taizu shilu*, j. 190, 3b (25 May 1388).

¹¹² *Ming Taizu shilu*, j. 245, 5b-7b (3 Jun 1396).

¹¹³ *Ming Yingzong shilu*, j. 163, 2b (9 Mar 1448).

¹¹⁴ Haraprasad Ray, *Trade and Trade Routes between India and China c. 140 B.C.-A.D.1500* (Kolkata: Progressive Publishers, 2003), pp. 8-9.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 108, 115.

The account of the early fifteenth-century Ming voyages left to us by Ma Huan 馬歡 and Fei Xin 費信 provide some further observations about horses in Southeast Asia at this time. Ma Huan notes of Champa that “their horses are short and small, like donkeys”,¹¹⁶ while Fei Xin wrote of tribal headmen riding these horses.¹¹⁷ Of Java, Ma noted only that horses but not donkeys existed there,¹¹⁸ while in Malacca “donkeys and horses are entirely absent”.¹¹⁹ This latter comment was also recorded of Cochin,¹²⁰ while horses were noted as being present in Bengal¹²¹ as well as in Dhufar, Hormuz and Mecca.

Of Calicut, Fei Xin noted: “They can breed good horses. The horses come from the Western *fan* 蕃,¹²² and the purchase of an individual horse can involve the transfer of hundreds or even thousands of gold coins. In this country, if horses are brought in from the Western *fan* and then the horses of this country are brought but not sold, there will be claims that the country is impoverished.”¹²³

CONCLUSIONS

As noted in the introduction, this paper is certainly not intended as a systematic history of the horse in pre-1500 Southeast Asia. Rather, it is intended as a way to provide more materials for such an effort in future. We have seen horses as war tools, aids in the hunt, ceremonial animals, symbols of status, tribute objects, trade goods, commodities, toys, decorative subjects, courier carriers, tribute components, entertainers, food, chariot pullers, a taxation form, war booty and in a range of other functions. They were obviously hugely important parts of the lives of the people of the northern mainland Southeast Asian mountain and plateau regions, and not insignificant in the lives of the elite and military in island Southeast Asia from at least the beginning of the second millennium.

Both Clarence-Smith¹²⁴ and Boomgaard¹²⁵ note that the local horses of Southeast Asia have always been small, with the logical extension being that larger horses would provide one with increased prestige. We have seen many examples above of Indian and Southeast Asian rulers trying to obtain horses from Ferghana or Bactria and from the Chinese court for presumably status purposes.¹²⁶ When the Dutch East India Company (VOC) established its power in Southeast Asia in the seventeenth century, it apparently played to this preference through both obtaining West Asian horses for local courts and running its own stud farms.¹²⁷

We can state that the horse has been used in warfare in northern Southeast Asia from perhaps 500 BCE, but its use as a weapon of war was much restricted in tropical areas to the south, due to terrain and possibly also of tropical diseases to which the horse is susceptible. Charney notes that “If this were true for Southeast Asia (that many areas that demanded cavalry did not have suitable horse breeding areas) it would help to explain in part the disparity of cavalry forces between mainland and archipelagic states. The wet, tropical climate of coastal Arakan, Burma, Ayudhya, Cambodia, Vietnam and the Western archipelago, where rainfall is heaviest, did not favour horse health or longevity. The marshland of south-eastern Sumatra, the

¹¹⁶ J. V. G. Mills (tr., ed.) *Ma Huan: Ying-yai sheng-lan. “The Overall Survey of the Ocean’s Shores” [1433]*, Hakluyt Society Extra Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 81.

¹¹⁷ J. V. G. Mills (tr.), Roderich Ptak (notes, ed.), *Hsing-ch’a Sheng-lan. The Overall Survey of the Star Raft by Fei Hsin*, South China and Maritime Asia 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996), p. 34.

¹¹⁸ Mills, *Ma Huan*, p. 92.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 162; Mills and Ptak, *Hsing-ch’a Sheng-lan*, pp. 74, 76.

¹²² A generic term referring to the people and polities of modern Tibet and Central Asia, and possibly even of West Asia.

¹²³ 其能蓄好馬，自西番而來，動經金錢千百為疋。其國若西番馬來，本國馬來不買，則議為國空之言也。See also Mills and Ptak, *Hsing-ch’a Sheng-lan*, p. 69.

¹²⁴ Clarence-Smith, “Horse Breeding in Mainland Southeast Asia and Its Borderlands”, p. 189. He notes that Southeast Asian native breeds consist mainly of ponies (under 14 and 1/2 hands).

¹²⁵ Boomgaard asserts that all pre-modern Southeast Asian horses were small. “Large horses, therefore, were at a premium, and they were perfect gifts to be bestowed upon or presented by rulers.” Boomgaard “Horses, Horse-trading”, p. 211.

¹²⁶ It is probably thus, as Boomgaard suggests, that horse breeding in Southeast Asia is connected with royal courts. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-229.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 211-213.

Malay peninsula, and Borneo may have discouraged the horse altogether for much of the early modern period....”¹²⁸ Charney notes that the chariot was rarely used in warfare in Southeast Asia,¹²⁹ but as shown above, there are certainly examples of such use in Champa in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The deforestation of southern China over the last two thousand years provided a less suitable environment for elephants and an environment more suited to the horse¹³⁰ and it appears that similar changes took place at least in the major river valleys of Southeast Asia. The study of the horse thus needs to be tied closely to the ecological history of Southeast Asia. Clarence-Smith asks the question succinctly: Did the introduction of horses result in significant environmental change in terms of deforestation and spread of grasslands?¹³¹ And did the decline of the elephant in the second millennium result from the rise of cavalry as war tool?¹³²

One of the most intriguing theses relating to the horse in Southeast Asia is that proposed by Clarence-Smith in terms of the relationship between Islam and use of the horse. He suggests that the coming of Islam presaged a decline in the use of elephants in Southeast Asia, with Hindus using elephants and Muslims horses, such that tamed elephants died out completely in Sumatra.¹³³ “In military terms, the coming of Islam might have been expected to hasten the promotion of the horse at the expense of the elephant, especially when Middle Eastern models came to prevail over South Asian ones.”¹³⁴ While evidence for the earlier (pre-1500) period is thin, the thesis certainly deserves measuring against the evidence that does exist.

¹²⁸ Charney, *Southeast Asian Warfare 1300-1900*, p. 171.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹³⁰ See Mark Elvin, *The Retreat of the Elephants. An Environmental History of China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

¹³¹ Clarence-Smith, “Horse Breeding in Mainland Southeast Asia and Its Borderlands”, pp. 189-90.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 271.

¹³³ Clarence-Smith, “Elephants, Horses, and the Coming of Islam to Northern Sumatra”, p. 271.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 280-281.

China, das Chinesische Meer und Nordostasien
China, the East Asian Seas, and Northeast Asia

Horses of the Xianbei, 300–600 AD: A Brief Survey

Shing MÜLLER¹

INTRODUCTION

The Chinese cavalry, though gaining great weight in warfare since Qin and Han times, remained lightly armed until the fourth century. The deployment of heavy armours of iron or leather for mounted warriors, especially for horses, seems to have been an innovation of the steppe peoples on the northern Chinese border since the third century, as indicated in literary sources and by archaeological excavations. Cavalry had become a major striking force of the steppe nomads since the fall of the Han dynasty in 220 AD, thus leading to the warfare being speedy and fierce. Ever since then, horses occupied a crucial role in war and in peace for all steppe riders on the northern borders of China. The horses were selectively bred, well fed, and drilled for war; horses of good breed symbolized high social status and prestige of their owners. Besides, horses had already been the most desired commodities of the Chinese.

With superior cavalries, the steppe people intruded into North China from 300 AD onwards,² and built one after another ephemeral non-Chinese kingdoms in this vast territory. In this age of disunity, known painfully by the Chinese as the age of Sixteen States (316–349 AD) and the age of Southern and Northern Dynasties (349–581 AD), many Chinese abandoned their homelands in the Central Plain and took flight to south of the Huai River, barricaded behind numerous rivers, lakes and hilly landscapes unfavourable for cavalries, until the North and the South reunited under the flag of the Sui (581–618 AD).³

Although warfare on horseback was practised among all northern steppe tribes, the Xianbei or *Sārbi*, who originated from the southeastern quarters of modern Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, emerged as the major power during this period. The early celebrated generals and their best assault equestrians were mainly from the Xianbei confederation. The Xianbei cavalries were feared for their “wind-and-clouds”-like speed and fierce attacks – even by the Xiongnu.⁴

The Murong branch of the Xianbei in southern Manchuria was the first group to found several successive kingdoms in the region of modern Liaoning, Hebei and Shandong, while the Tuoba branch of the Xianbei in the Ordos area established the more stable dynasty of Northern Wei (386–534 AD). Since then, the Tuoba

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² Besides several expansion models of the steppe nomads, with the most powerful one by Thomas Barfield (*The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China* [Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1989]) arguing that the steppe nomads in this period intruded into China as a sequel of disintegration of the central power of the Chinese, many Chinese scholars also attributed the intrusion of nomads to a cold climatic period. See Zhu Kezhen 竺可楨, “Zhongguo jin wuqian nian lai qihou bianqian de chubu yanjiu 中國近五千年來氣候變遷的初步研究”, *Kaogu xuebao* 1 (1972), pp. 21–22. Zhu maintained that the climate was interrupted by long-lasting cold periods from 200 AD until the seventh century in the Asian half of the northern hemisphere. Jiang Fuya gives an even more detailed description for the period between 280–480 AD, during which the temperatures were probably on average 1–3°C colder. See Jiang Fuya 蔣福亞, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shehui jingji shi* 魏晉南北朝社會經濟史 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2005), pp. 220–231.

³ For a comprehensive history of warfare during this period see David A. Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare, 300–900* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002).

⁴ See Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 et al. (comp.), *Jin shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), j. 101, p. 2648. In Eastern Han times the Xiongnu were already much weaker and split into the northern and the southern branches. Even the Chinese were aware of the fact that the Xianbei were then stronger than the Xiongnu; see Cai Yong’s 蔡邕 memorandum to the Han emperor Lingdi 靈帝 (177 AD), in Fan Ye 范曄 (comp.), *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), j. 90, p. 2991, and Gerhard Schreiber, “Das Volk der Hsien-pi 鮮卑 zur Han-Zeit”, *Monumenta Serica* 12 (1947), pp. 194–195.

became the major rival in war and politics against the Southern dynasties until the end of the sixth century. Besides the Tuoba, the Tuyuhun, originally a faction of the Murong, who had moved to Gansu and Qinghai early in the fourth century,⁵ were also of great military prowess.

Despite the close relationship between man and horse in the Xianbei realm, there are few works dedicated to the history of the horse among these tribes. Horses remain a “side-aspect” in the research of Xianbei history, and their importance is further reduced by the fact that the Xianbei, as well as all the non-Chinese groups in this period, rarely catch the attention of Chinese scholars.

This article attempts to summarize some aspects related to horses and riding under Xianbei rule. Relevant information is collected from both written and archaeological sources. Special attention will be given to new developments and inventions. This concerns, for example, the use of saddles and metal stirrups. Yet, my investigation of the relevant textual sources is far from exhaustive. Many written works found in Chinese historical and literary writings, which are of a diverse and heterogeneous nature, still await further evaluation and critical study. Regarding saddles and stirrups, since the technologies and their social impacts have been discussed expertly and thoroughly,⁶ the focus will be on how they were used – according to recent archaeological findings.

HORSE SUPPLY AND MANAGEMENT

The imposing figures of armoured horses (*kaima* 鎧馬) in the Xianbei armies of the fourth century, frequently of “tens of thousands” as mentioned in Chinese records,⁷ give a rough idea of how the Xianbei took advantage of the vast Mongolian steppes as pastures and perfectly managed their horse supply. Despite numerous military campaigns with unavoidable losses, the Xianbei were able to rebuild within a short term a new cavalry with an immense number of warhorses. The Chinese on the contrary were always in want of horses. In the Han and the subsequent Three Kingdoms (222–265 AD) period, the court was able to secure horse supplies by forcing the neighbouring northern steppe people to send in horses as “tribute” or at least to purchase them.⁸ After the Three Kingdoms period the drastic horse deficiency in the Chinese Central Plain led to the deployment of other livestock such as oxen or sheep as draught animals for carriages, while the

⁵ See the discussion of Tong Chenzhu who combined both literary and archaeological records for his thesis on the Murong origin of the Tuyuhun; Tong Chenzhu 佟臣祝, “Cong kaoguxue he lishixue shang kan Xianbei ren xi xi de zuji 從考古學和歷史學上看鮮卑人西徙的足跡”, *Kaogu yu wenwu*, additional issue: Archaeology of Han and Tang 考古與文物·增刊·漢唐考古 (2004), pp. 147-154.

⁶ Albert E. Dien, “A Study of Early Chinese Armor,” *Artibus Asiae* 43.1/2 (1982/83), pp. 5-56; *ibid.*, “The Stirrup and its Effect on Chinese History,” *Ars Orientalia* 16 (1986), pp. 33-56. Yang Hong 楊泓, *Zhongguo gu bingqi luncong* 中國古兵器論叢 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1986); *ibid.*, “Zhongguo gudai maju zhuangkai dui Haidong de yingxiang 中國古代馬具裝鎧對海東的影響”, in *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo* 中國社會科學院考古研究所 (ed.), *Xin shiji de Zhongguo kaoguxue – Wang Zhongshu xiansheng bashi huadan jinian lunwenji* 新世紀的中國考古學 — 王仲舒先生八十華誕紀念論文集 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2005), pp. 626-644; Wang Tieying 王鐵英, “Madeng de qiyuan 馬鐙的起源”, *Ouya xuekan* 歐亞學刊 3 (2002), pp. 76-100.

⁷ See Yang Hong, *Zhongguo gu bingqi*, p. 629. Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare*, p. 64, citing Wei Shou 魏收 (comp.), *Wei shu* 魏書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), j. 24, p. 609, gives a huge figure of several hundred thousand mounted archers at the Tuoba’s command, as well as a million horses on the pastures in the Tuoba’s territories about 366.

⁸ There are numerous such incidences in the treaty on the Wuwan and Xianbei in Chen Shou 陳壽, *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, compiled by (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), j. 30. For instance, in 220 AD, Budugen 步度根, the lord of Eastern Xianbei 東部鮮卑, sent horses as tributes to Cao Pi 曹丕, who then ascended the throne as Emperor Wen of Cao Wei 魏文帝 (p. 836); in the same year, the Xianbei lord Samohan 沙末汗 of the West Liao River region also sent horses to the Chinese court as tribute, after he had been appointed the “Lord who is faithful to the Han” (親漢王) by Cao Cao 曹操 (pp. 840); in 222 the Xianbei lord Kebineng 軻比能 of the Ordos region, together with Xiu Wulu 修武盧, the son of a Wuwan Chieftain in the Dai Prefecture 代郡, and his 3,000 riders, drove some 70,000 cattle and horses to the (border) market for exchange (p. 839). Although there is no explicit reference in historical records, it is more than obvious that the Xianbei exchanged their herds and produce for Chinese grain, on which the Xianbei depended. See Schreiber, *Das Volk der Hsien-pi*, p. 153.

military consisted mainly of infantry; few horses were available for wars.⁹ With wars against the more mobilized steppe peoples becoming increasingly intense, the Chinese were forced to purchase horses from their enemies in order to build cavalries (even at a high cost for their maintenance).¹⁰ The Xianbei were a particularly good supplier of horses and other livestock from the second half of the second century AD – not only for the Chinese, but also for the Xiongnu.¹¹ According to a record for the year of 222 AD, the Xianbei seemed to recognize the potential threat if they continuously delivered horses to the Chinese, and thus tried to ban the horse trade with China.¹²

As for the supply of warhorses to the Xianbei troops, an incidence in an expedition of Tuoba Gui 拓跋珪 against the Rouran 柔然 reveals that the mounted Tuoba warriors all carried an extra horse (*fuma* 副馬) during their military campaigns.¹³ This might suggest that most Xianbei groups constantly demanded large numbers of horses. The same is also observed much later among the Mongolian tribes: one warrior was said to have at his disposal several animals and he rode them alternately to prevent them suffering from exhaustion.¹⁴

After the establishment of the Northern Wei dynasty by the Tuoba Xianbei, horses became a major livestock item next to cattle and sheep. It is mentioned in the *Wei shu* 魏書 that under Tuoba rule the number of horses in North China grew to over two million in the 430s.¹⁵ When discussing the horse policy (*mazheng* 馬政) of earlier periods, the great Southern Song scholar Lǚ Zuqian 呂祖謙 claimed that the number of horses culminated under the Northern Wei of the Tuoba Xianbei.¹⁶

The areas Shangjun 上郡 and Dai 代 in the northern Shanxi and Ordos regions, the base of Tuoba dominion – and the traditional “horse country” already praised in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 –, still produced horses throughout the fourth century.¹⁷ However, the extremely high standing of horses under the Northern Wei was most likely achieved primarily through war booties from the western nomadic tribes. After the successful campaign in Hexi 河西 (an area including modern Shaanxi, Ningxia and Gansu provinces) against the Xiongnu leader Liu Weichen 劉衛辰, the first Northern Wei emperor Tuoba Gui 拓跋珪 looted allegedly 300,000 “famous / precious horses” (*mingma* 名馬) in 391 AD. Again in 429, the emperor Tuoba Dao 拓跋燾 crushed the Turkish High Carts (Gaoche 高車),¹⁸ and snatched one million warhorses (*baiwan rongma* 百萬戎馬). Shortly after and still in the same year, Tuoba Dao again forced the rest of the tribal people of the Gaoche to surrender and took hold of their millions of livestock including horses, cattle and sheep.¹⁹ The

⁹ See, for example, the petition of Han Fan 韓範 of the Southern Yan (*Jin shu*, j. 127, p. 3171), who, with the argument that the Chinese possessed only some hundred war horses, encouraged his lord Murong De 慕容德 to attack the Eastern Jin Dynasty of the Chinese in the year 403 AD.

¹⁰ An experience that the Chinese had to go through quite regularly; see Denis Sinor, “Horse and Pasture in Inner Asian History”, *Orient Extremus* 19 (1972), p. 174.

¹¹ See the commentary of Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (Liu-Song) citing the now lost *Wei shu* 魏書 of Wang Chen 王沉 of Jin times in *Sanguo zhi*, j. 30, p. 833. See also Schreiber, *Das Volk der Hsien-pi*, p. 156.

¹² *Sanguo zhi*, j. 26, p. 727; Wolfgang Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China. Erster Teil: Die Lokalkulturen des Nordens und Westens* (Leiden: Brill, 1942), p. 14; and Yü Ying-shih, *Trade and Expansion in Han China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p. 110.

¹³ Sima Guang 司馬光 (comp.), *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), j. 107, p. 3401 (year 391); see also Lǚ Yifei 呂一飛, *Huzu xisu yu Sui Tang fengyun - Wei Jin Nanbeichao Beifang shaoshu minzu shehui fengsu ji qi dui Sui Tang de yingxiang* 胡族習俗與隋唐風韻—魏晉南北朝北方少數民族社會風俗及其對隋唐的影響 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1994), pp. 97-98.

¹⁴ See *Meng Da beilu* 蒙韃備錄 (section “horse policy”) of Meng Gong 孟珙 (Song period), in *Gujin shuo hai* 古今說海, Baibu congshu jicheng ed. (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1965), 9b-10a. See also Veronika Veit, “Die Überlegenheit von Pferd und Bogen. Die Rolle des Pferdes bei den Mongolen in Frieden und Krieg”, in: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (ed.), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen* (München: Hirmer Verlag, 2005), p. 98.

¹⁵ *Wei shu*, j. 110, p. 2875.

¹⁶ Lǚ Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137–1181), *Lidai zhidu xiangshuo* 歷代制度詳說 (Shanghai: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1990), j. 12, p. 182.

¹⁷ *Jin shu*, j. 103, p. 2697; Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, p. 13.

¹⁸ For the High Carts see Edwin G. Pulleyblank, “The ‘High Carts’: A Turkish-Speaking People Before the Türks”, *Asia Major*. Third Series 3.1 (1990), pp. 21-26.

¹⁹ *Wei shu*, j. 103, pp. 2308-2309.

surrendered Gaoche tribal people together with their livestock were resettled on the Northern Wei state pastures (see below) in the North, and “since then the prices for horses as well as cattle and sheep in the [Northern Wei] country became extremely cheap (由是國家馬及牛羊遂至於賤)”.²⁰

In order to ensure horses were adequately provided for, the early emperors of the Northern Wei reserved the vast Hexi area to the west and of the grand arch of the Yellow River to the north, called Monan 漠南 (“South of the Desert”),²¹ for pastures.²² Only a few names of these stately owned pastures were preserved in historical records. Beside Hexi and Monan, also the smaller pastures at Xiurong 秀容 and Shanwu 善無 (both in the present day region north of Taiyuan and south of the Gobi) were mentioned. There must also have been many privately owned large ranches of tribal leaders. Tribal people were supposed to deliver one warhorse per twenty households or by rich households who owned 100 sheep.²³ This kind of “taxation” at the beginning of the Northern Wei era was probably negligible and was abolished in the 470s.

In 494 AD the old Tuoba capital Pingcheng 平城 (modern Datong 大同) near the steppe was abandoned in favour of Luoyang at the heart of the Central Plain. At the beginning of the Luoyang period, a new Heyang 河陽 state pasture was established to keep the horses for the army. The region of Heyang from the northern bank of the Yellow River to the area of modern Anyang 安陽 was also known as the “horse district” (*machang* 馬場).²⁴ Horses were drawn regularly from the old Hexi and Monan state pastures. They had been stationed first at Bingzhou 并州 (present day Taiyuan 太原), also a major pasture at the time, and then transferred gradually southwards. In this way the horses could be acclimatised to a much warmer and humid environment, before they reached the final destination in Heyang. 100,000 warhorses were kept there constantly from 494 to the 520s, “in case of sudden outbreaks of wars or emergencies in the capital”.²⁵

Already in the 470s the Tuoba ceased to campaign against the Rouran tribes of the steppe and gradually adopted the extreme centralized regime and sedentary way of life after the Chinese model. This means a major switch of the economy from husbandry to agriculture. The pasturelands for horses and other livestock vanished gradually from this point.²⁶ Except under the first emperor Xiaowen, in the new political centre Luoyang only a few ministers for the Imperial Stud (see below) in the sixth century took care of horse affairs. The resulting crisis of a horse shortage was further aggravated through a steady political conflict between land utilization for grazing and farming. For example, Yang Chun 楊椿, a famous politician of the Northern Wei and minister of the Imperial Stud under Emperor Xuanwu (500–504 AD), was said to have transformed 340 *qing* 頃 of pasturelands illegally into fields for agriculture.²⁷

The state-owned pastures in the North (including Xiurong and Shanwu) were abandoned some years after the capital was moved south, and the rich owners of private ranches, now occupying the former state pastures, became significant suppliers of warhorses for the army.²⁸ Some parts of the major northern state pastures

²⁰ Ibid., p. 2309. *Zhizhi tongjian*, j. 121, p. 3812, precisely locates the new settlement of the subjugated Gaoche between the present day Ruyuan 濡源 and Wuyuan 五原 in Ordos.

²¹ This area corresponds to modern North Shanxi and southern Inner Mongolia, including such old toponyms as Pingcheng 平城, Lingyuan 淩源, Yunzhong 雲中 and Wuyuan 五原. The area is described as extremely cold (積冰四五十尺, 唾出口成冰; “ice accumulates up to 40 or 50 *chi* high, spit freezes into ice as soon as leaving the mouth”), but best for husbandry (畜牧滋繁; “livestock and herds get nourished and multiply”); see *Jizhoutu* 冀州圖 retained in *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 of Song times (j. 49, p. 14), cited by Tang Changru 唐長孺, “Tuoba guojia de jianli ji qi fengjianhua 拓跋國家的建立及其封建化” in same, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi luncong* 魏晉南北朝史論叢 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1955), p. 218.

²² *Wei shu*, j. 110, p. 2785; see also Yuanshan 遠山, “Wei Jin Nanbeichao shiqi xumuye shengchan fazhan de tezheng 魏晉南北朝時期畜牧業生產發展的特徵”, *Xuchang shizhuan xuebao* 許昌師專學報 (*shehui kexue ban* 社會科學版) 17.2 (1998), p. 64.

²³ A bill of the year 421, see *Wei shu*, j. 3, p. 61.

²⁴ See Zhou Yiliang 周一良, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi zhaji* 魏晉南北朝史札記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), pp. 357–358.

²⁵ *Wei shu*, j. 110, p. 2875; *Zhizhi tongjian*, j. 139, p. 4369; and Yuanshan, “Wei Jin ...”.

²⁶ For an excellent analysis of the interdependency of pastoralists and pastures see: Sinor, “Horse and Pasture”.

²⁷ *Wei shu*, j. 58, p. 1287. Given that the allowance for an official of the highest rank was 50 *qing* of agricultural fields, Yang Chun’s occupying of almost seven times that amount was considered a criminal offence; consequently, he was almost degraded to a common person.

²⁸ The most famous one was Erzhu Xinxing 爾朱新興 (*Wei shu*, j. 74, p. 1644), the father of the rebel Erzhu Rong 爾朱榮 who, in 528 AD, slaughtered more than 2,000 aristocrats and members of the royal house and drowned the emperor Suzong 肅宗 and the

were also diverted into huge hunting grounds for royals and aristocrats after the move of the capital to Luoyang.²⁹ The number of military horses thus decreased drastically, and the state was dependent on tribally owned horses for military expeditions, although the pastures in Hexi were said to remain intact.³⁰

The Poem of Mulan 木蘭詩,³¹ a ballad generally believed to be of Xianbei origin,³² implies that war-horses during Northern Wei times were not always provided by the army, but were also purchased privately on the market. The ballad, if dated correctly, gives a glimpse of daily life under the Northern Wei regime; moreover, it also reveals a clearly structured division of labour. This concerns the production of various utensils for horse riding such as saddles and saddlecloths, harnesses, bridles, whips, etc. These products were sold, and probably also manufactured, in different market places at the beginning of the sixth century.³³ There were special horse markets in the capital from later Han times, and certainly also in major townships under the Northern Wei.³⁴ However, not much information concerning transactions, prices and quantities is available for the pre-Tang period. It is only known that horse markets also served as locations for public executions.³⁵

Generally speaking, horse riding was extremely popular under the Northern Dynasties, both in war and peace. Not only officials and soldiers but also common Xianbei people rode horses. Those who did not own ranches and did not receive them as rewards probably bought horses in public markets. In short, to the northern societies horses were like automobiles to modern European families. This was in sharp contrast to the Southern Dynasties, or the Chinese in general, who would prefer to use a coach or cart, mostly drawn by oxen. The Xianbei lords encouraged their subjects to learn riding and archery, while the Han Chinese were compelled to raise crops and feed their non-Chinese compatriots.³⁶ Riding was so popular and demand for trained horses so high that some commercially-minded northerners created a “rent-a-horse” (*ke qi ma* 客騎馬) business in Luoyang during the sixth century as a means of living.³⁷

Since horses are animals who can panic, and particularly loud noises and aggressive movements of infantry often frightened the inexperienced horses in cavalries, special training was necessary for warhorses.³⁸ While special drill sites for warhorses are mentioned sporadically in the context of other ethnic groups – the

empress dowager Ling 靈太后. Xinxing was the descendant of the tribal leader of the Erzhu clan. With the base in Xiurong, he led more than 8,000 households of tribal people and raised some 10,000 horses; see Tang Changru, “Tuoba guojia”, p. 217.

²⁹ See Zhou Yiliang, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao*.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ See Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (Song), *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), j. 25, pp. 373-375.

³² See Wan Shengnan 萬繩楠, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi lungao* 魏晉南北朝史論稿 (Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 1983), pp. 283-286.

³³ “In the East Market she bought a swift horse; in the West Market she bought a saddle and saddlecloth; in the South Market she bought a bridle and harness; in the North Market she bought a long whip.” (東市買駿馬、西市買鞍韉、南市買轡頭、北市買長鞭。), in *Yuefu shiji*, p. 374.

³⁴ *Wei shu* (j. 77, p. 1708) recorded an event at the horse market in Heyin 河陰 (present day Mengjin 孟津 in Henan province), where the county administrator Gao Qianzhi 高謙之 set a trap to catch the gangsters who paid the horse price with forged money.

³⁵ See for example *Hou Han shu*, j. 21, p. 3243 (腰斬馬市; “to cleave through the waist at horse market”); *Sanguo zhi*, j. 26, p. 731 (袁尚首懸馬市; “the head of Yuan Shang was hung at the horse market”); *Wei shu*, j. 74, p. 1657 (咸梟馬市; “[those who rebelled] were executed at the horse market”); *Wei shu*, j. 77, p. 1708 (枷一囚立於馬市; “a prisoner was handcuffed and was displayed at the horse market”). Only Yang Xuanzhi mentions that the “horse market” was located in the eastern section of Luoyang, but there are no additional details; see Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 (author), Xu Gaoruan 徐高阮 (comm.), *Chong kan Luoyang qielan ji* 重刊洛陽伽藍記, Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo zhuan 42 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1960; 2nd print 1992), 14a.

³⁶ *Jin shu*, j. 126, pp. 3145-3146.

³⁷ See Lü Yifei, *Huzu xisu*, p. 101, citing Li Yanshou 李延壽 (comp.), *Bei shi* 北史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), j. 55, p. 2000. The event was related to the time shortly after 528 AD. It may be of interest to point out that the business of mounts (such as horses and camels) for hire was practised in Niya from the third to the fourth centuries AD, probably only among the nobility; see for example the Kharos 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤hi inscriptions 223 (horse-rental), 468 and 505 (camel-rental) found by Sir Aurel Stein in ancient Niya, in Thomas Burrow, *A Translation of the Kharos 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤hi Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1940) pp. 42, 91, and 98.

³⁸ See Marcus Junkelmann, *Die Reiter Roms. Teil III: Zubehör, Reitweise, Bewaffnung* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1992), pp. 115-119.

“horse cooling terrace” (*liang ma tai* 涼馬臺) associated with Shi Hu 石虎 of the *Jie* 羯 (fourth century) is one example³⁹ – it is only in the chronicle of the Northern Wei (*Wei shu*) that one encounters detailed notices on military training involving horse and man. Such activities are described as an integral part of the New Year’s celebrations near the palace gate at the capital Pingcheng 平城 (modern Datong), where equestrians and foot soldiers fought against each other.⁴⁰ These special horse-and-man-drills probably did not occur accidentally, since they were recorded at a time, during which the Tuoba were engaged in heavy warfare against the Chinese in the South.

The structure of “horse administration” under the Northern Wei remains largely unknown. However, several titles of officials in charge of “horse affairs” are registered in the dynastic records, for example, “Horse Master” (*zhuma* 主馬), “Herder” (*muji* 牧子), “Stable Master” (*zhu jiu xian* 主廄閑), “Special Agent for Supervising Pastures” (都牧給事)⁴¹, and the “Department for Riding and Carriage” (*jiabu* 駕部).⁴² After the capital was moved to Luoyang, traditional Chinese titles such as “Director of [Livestock] Herding” (*dianmuling* 典牧令)⁴³ were adopted. These offices were under the Ministry for the Imperial Stud *taipu* 太僕, headed by the Minister *taipuging* 太僕卿.

A “Ministry for the Imperial Stud” had already existed in Eastern Zhou times and was solely in charge of horse affairs. Since the dynastic history of the Northern Wei was written by Wei Shou 魏收, a Chinese scholar with a Confucian background, this office title and other sinicized titles were possibly adopted by him to describe the posts of the Xianbei dynasty which were very likely originally expressed in the Xianbei language. In such a manner, not only would Chinese readers easily understand the functions of the posts, but the dynasty would also present itself as just as civilized as a Chinese dynasty. There is at least one example which indicates that this could have been the case: the term *muji* 牧子 (literally: herd boy), although it sounds Chinese, was not mentioned before the Northern Wei. Tang Changru pointed out that several non-Chinese persons of the Yuwen-Xiongnu, Xianbei and Gaoche, all of the fifth and sixth centuries, and all related to government horse-herding, carried the “personal name” Feiyetou 費野頭 or Poyetou 破野頭. These name variations, according to Tang, should be the Chinese transcriptions of a widely adopted Altaic term current on the steppes, which can be translated as “herder” (*muji*).⁴⁴ Unfortunately, the original transcriptions of other names and titles have not been transmitted. But it seems likely that they were in use

³⁹ The terrace was also named “horse entertainment terrace” (*xima tai* 戲馬臺) or “terrace for horse parade” (閱馬臺); see Shing Müller, *Yezhongji. Eine Quelle zur materiellen Kultur in der Stadt Ye im 4. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), p. 66.

⁴⁰ *Wei shu*, j. 108D, p. 2180. This paragraph describes an impressive event on the 12th month of the year 462: “The Emperor Gaozong (452–465) organized a grand *nuo* festival to celebrate the end of the year. He ordered parades of armies to demonstrate military strength. ... The foot soldiers positioned in the south, the riders in the north. Drums (attacking signal) were beaten and bells (retreating signal) were rung which gave the timings for the movements of the armies. The foot soldiers wore blue, red, yellow and black clothes according to their regiments. Those holding shields, spears, lances and halberds followed one another, alternated their positions and corresponded with each other. ... After this performance, the soldiers in the south and in the north drummed and blew horns together. All shouted. From each of the (cavalry) squadrons, six mounted commanders were sent out to challenge the infantrymen. The infantry moved forwards and backwards and tried to fight the cavalry. (At the end) as a climax (of the event) the north (regiment) defeated the south (regiment).” According to the same paragraph, “this parade was held each year afterwards.” (高宗和平三年十二月，因歲除大儺之禮，遂耀兵示武，……步兵陳於南，騎士陳於北，各擊鍾鼓，以為節度。其步兵所衣，青赤黃黑，別為部隊，盾稍矛戟，相次周回，轉易以相赴就。……陳畢，南北二軍皆鳴鼓角，衆盡大譟。各令騎將六人，去來挑戰，步兵更進退以相拒擊。南敗北捷，以為盛觀，自後踵以為常。)

⁴¹ In the early days of the Northern Wei there were *dumu shangshu* 都牧尚書 (Ministers for Pastures), who, though in charge of all state livestock and pastures, took special care of horses. Under *dumu shangshu* probably came the *dumuling* 都牧令 (Supervisor of Pastures). After the capital was moved to Luoyang, the office of *dumu shangshu* was renamed *dumu jishi* 都牧給事, i.e., Head of Supervising Agent for Pasture and Livestock. The new post was still responsible for the special duty of horse herding.

⁴² Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯 (comp.), *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972), j. 57, p. 985. The office “Department for Riding and Carriage” (駕部) obviously was installed in Western Jin times (*Jin shu*, j. 24, p. 731). The Chinese historians clearly adopted the Chinese appellation to describe the corresponding Xianbei office. Most of the *jiabu* ministers or officials in Northern Wei times, as illustrated in the *Wei shu*, were of steppe origin.

⁴³ The title was already seen in the Three Kingdoms period; see Yang Chen 楊晨 (Qing), *Sanguo huiyao* 三國會要, Zhongguo xueshu mingzhu ed. (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962), j. 9, p. 145.

⁴⁴ Tang Changru, “Tuoba guojia”, pp. 210–214.

under the Northern Dynasties until they gradually disappeared in early Tang days. No doubt they belonged to the nomadic organisation of the “horse administration”. Furthermore, the few known persons serving these horse-herding posts during Northern Wei times were all either of Xianbei or of other steppe origins⁴⁵ who could undoubtedly bring in their expertise in matters of horse affairs. Yang Chun, mentioned above, could have been the only minister of Chinese origin for the Imperial Stud under the Northern Wei.

BREEDS ACCORDING TO LITERATURE AND ART

Military horses of the Han dynasty hardly reached 14 hands (roughly 140 cm to the withers), i.e., they were merely a little higher than wild horses.⁴⁶ By the fourth century, warhorses, in order to carry the load of iron armour plus the weight of a fully armoured warrior and his weapons⁴⁷ and still be able to charge the enemy, must have undergone a substantial change with regard to their body size, stamina and speed.

As mentioned above, the northern Shanxi and Ordos regions were famous for their “fine foals” (良駒). These “native horses” (土馬) must have been the wild horses (*Equus przewalski*) in this region. The Northern Wei Emperor Taiwu 太武帝 (424–452) ordered Yunzhong 雲中 (the present day northern Shanxi) to be a “wild horse park” (*ye ma yuan* 野馬苑) to keep these local horses roaming freely in the area. Wild horses were famous for their persistency and speed. The Xiongnu had already used them as warhorses. However, nomadic tribes in these regions also seemed to breed chargers “large / swift horses” (駿馬) or “thousand *li* horses” (千里馬). These horses were usually brought as prestigious tribute by subordinating tribes to their nomadic overlord.⁴⁸ While horses from the west of the Yellow River and Ordos were frequently imported into the northeastern areas, the horses from the western regions, such as oases on the Silk Road or even Central Asia, were highly treasured and probably also contributed to the improvement of breeds (see below).

Despite the many archaeological findings of horse skeletons from the third and fourth centuries, these were never examined for the possible breeds. Thus, implications can only be drawn from literary sources. Art works may also give some rough ideas of the diversity of horses in North China during the early medieval period.

The most important written source is probably *Qimin yaoshu* 齊民要術 by Jia Sixie 賈思勰 (c. 530s), one of the earliest handbooks about agriculture and husbandry. It gives some physiognomic criteria about good and bad horses, which can definitely be traced back to the accumulated equestrian experience of the steppe nomads.⁴⁹ According to this book, a good horse should have a “heavy” head of little flesh, “like the skinned

⁴⁵ The known “herder” (*muzi*) are Wanyuqizhen 萬于乞真 (Southern Xiurong 南秀容; *Wei shu*, j. 9, p. 237, and j. 74, p. 1645), and Suhepolun 素和婆論 (of Bingzhou 并州; *Wei shu*, j. 74, p. 1645). Xijin 奚斤, one of the famous tribal leaders during the early Northern Wei, and his paternal forebears were said to have served the Tuoba emperors as horse herders (*ma mu* 馬牧) (*Wei shu*, j. 29, p. 697). Chang Jixian 常季賢 was mentioned as “Horse Master” (主馬) and “Stable Master” (廄閑長) (*Wei shu*, j. 93, p. 2002); Yuwen Fu 宇文福 was mentioned as “Special Agent for Supervising Pastures” (都牧給事) and “Director for [Livestock] Herding” (典牧令) (*Wei shu*, j. 44, p. 1001).

⁴⁶ Wild horses or most of the steppe horses are 13–13.5 hands high (c. 137.5 cm); see Franz Hančar, *Das Pferd in prähistorischer und früher historischer Zeit* (Wien: Herold, 1956), p. 366, and H. G. Creel, “The Role of the Horse in Chinese History”, *The American Historical Review* 70.3 (1965), p. 655.

⁴⁷ According to the finds in the tomb of Feng Sufu 馮素弗 (died 415 AD), one set of horse armour of iron weighed c. 42.5 kg, while the weight of the armour of the warrior was not given. However, written sources recorded that the iron armour of soldiers of Song times was not allowed to exceed 50 *jin*, roughly 30–32 kg; see Yang Hong, *Zhongguo gu bingqi*, pp. 45, 67–68. One set of iron wrought armour for a warrior and a horse together can easily weigh up to 130 kg, given a soldier of 170 cm weighing roughly 60 kg.

⁴⁸ See note 11. This seems to be a ceremonial ritual operation among steppe peoples, in which the power positions of the giver and the receiver were clearly defined. Already in the third century BC the Donghu 東胡 asked for a 1000-*li* horse from the Xiongnu Modun 冒頓 as “tribute”. This was considered a provocation by the Xiongnu elites; see Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, p. 14.

⁴⁹ Jia Sixie 賈思勰, (annotated by Miu Qiyu 繆啟倫 and Miu Guilong 繆桂龍), *Qimin yaoshu* 齊民要術 (Beijing: Nongye chubanshe, 1982), section 6, chap. 56 “herding cattle, horses, donkeys and mules” 養牛馬驢騾, pp. 277–312. See also Robert E. Harrist, Jr., “The Legacy of Bole: Physiognomy and Horses in Chinese Painting”, *Artibus Asiae* 57.1/2 (1997), pp. 138–140, 149. The section concerning horse physiognomy in this work, according to Miu Qiyu and Miu Guilong, contains texts of a heterogeneous nature; therefore the original text could have been mixed up with some later sources (p. 295, note 51). Some parts may reflect traditional Chinese medicinal theories, such as the combination of physiognomy with the Five Viscera (*wuzang* 五臟) Theory. A

head of a rabbit”; the eyes should be “full and bright and large” (a sign for great persistency and a large heart, which implies fearlessness); the ears should be “small and sharp” (which implies obedience) and close to each other, the nostrils should be large (a sign for large lungs which means a fast runner) and the flanks should be small (easy to raise). Its cervical spine should be long but not heavily fleshed, its back should be short and square, the spine (on the back) should be large and raised, and the muscles on either side of the spine should be big as well. Horses with broad breasts, according to the text, can walk long distances. A “thousand-*li* horse”, the best and fastest of all horses, has a skull like a dragon, protruding eyes, a level spine coupled with a large belly, and heavy fleshy hind quarters. A bad horse has, on the contrary, a big head and a short or long but not an arching neck, or a weak spine and big belly, or small legs and large hoofs.⁵⁰ There are also different speed categories, which are related to the physical characteristics of horses.⁵¹ Such physical traits reveal that gelding and selection from among different breeds was common. For example, Hančar mentions that an early gelding would extend the neck and leg length, but not effect the length of the spine. Such a process was aimed at increasing the speed of a horse.⁵²

Jia Sixie’s criteria for good horses can also be related to certain works of art, some of which predate the *Qimin yaoshu*. The glazed⁵³ or painted pottery images of fully armoured “large horses” from the Xi’an area (see below), dated to the late fourth or early fifth century, are depicted with relatively long and slender legs (pl. 46). A newly discovered pottery horse from a cemetery of the Northern Wei in present day Datong 大同, Shanxi province, dated to the end of the fifth century, as well as the glazed horse figurines from the tomb of Sima Jinlong 司馬金龍 (died 484 AD), also reveals certain traits mentioned in the *Qimin yaoshu*, such as a long and arching neck, a large head, and a short and square back (pl. 47).⁵⁴ The same preference for long shanks – to an exaggerated degree – can be found in the tomb of a Xianbei aristocrat of the Northern Qi, Lou Rui 婁叡 (died 570 AD), in Taiyuan 太原 (pl. 48).⁵⁵ The meticulous painting or glazing, or simply the “larger-than-average” size – a general rule of thumb in the artistic expression to distinguish a person or object – all underline the high status of fine horses. Some of them carry bridles and tassels of the Sasanian types (pl. 48), indicating the great influence of Sasanian equestrian traditions, possibly even horse breeds, on contemporaneous North China. Indeed, according to written sources, in the sixth century, highly prized horses from Persia (波斯馬) continued to be imported directly in order to fill the stables of the richest princes of the Northern Wei dynasty.⁵⁶

The Murong of the fourth and fifth centuries in southern Manchuria were the first ones to set up military units with great numbers of “armoured horses” (*kaima*) – several thousand were mentioned for one campaign.⁵⁷ However, so far no archaeological finds can clearly demonstrate that they possessed horses

major portion, however, still represents the summary of advice which is “imbued with a barnyard practicality that speaks of great experience with horses” (Harrist, p.138) of the steppe peoples.

⁵⁰ See note 49.

⁵¹ There were, for example, horses which ran 300 *li*, 400 *li*, 500 *li*, 700 *li*, or 1,000 *li* per day; see *Qimin yaoshu*, pp. 278-283.

⁵² Hančar, *Das Pferd*, pp. 364-365.

⁵³ After a long pause following the Han dynasty, glazed pottery ware became popular again in the mid-fourth century. However, only small quantities of these wares appear in the richer tombs of the period, and glazes were applied only to objects of high value, commonly to the largest horse figurines in a tomb.

⁵⁴ See Datongshi kaogu yanjiusuo 大同市考古研究所, “Shanxi Datong Yingbin dadao Beiwei muqun 山西大同迎賓大道北魏墓群”, *Wenwu* 10 (2006), p. 57, fig. 18.

⁵⁵ Lou Rui was of the upper echelon of the Northern Qi dynasty and of Xianbei origin. The walls of his tomb, discovered in 1979, were fully covered with murals. The number of depicted horses in this tomb and the superb quality is single for the period up to this date; see Taiyuanshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 太原市文物考古研究所, *Bei Qi Lou Rui mu* 北齊婁叡墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004).

⁵⁶ It was said that the super rich Tuoba prince Yuan Shen 元琛 sent an envoy to Posi guo 波斯國, probably the Sasanian empire, to fetch a “thousand-*li* horse” (*qianli ma* 千里馬) for his personal stud; see *Chong kan Luoyang qielan ji* 重刊洛陽伽藍記, j. 4, 33a; Li Fang 李昉 et al., *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, Guoxue jiben congshu, 12 vols. (Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1959), j. 895, 4a, cites Sanguo dianlue 三國典略. See also Qiu Yue 丘悅 (of Tang times, comp.), Glen Dudbridge (Du Deqiao 杜德橋) and Zhao Chao 趙超 (eds.), *Sanguo dianlue jijiao* 三國典略輯校 (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1998), p. 5.

⁵⁷ “Horses’ armour” (*makai* 馬鎧) were first mentioned in the Chinese cultural sphere, at the beginning of the third century by Cao Cao 曹操. As Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare*, p. 42, pointed out, it is not clear if the armour for horses at this early age was

larger than wild stocks, as shown in several mural depictions of armoured mounted warriors.⁵⁸ Armour for man and horse unearthed in the homelands of the Murong and in Koguryo, unfortunately do not indicate the size of the animals.⁵⁹ On the other hand, the contemporaneous or somewhat later Western Xianbei 西部鮮卑 (for example, the Qifu 乞伏) and the proto-Tibetan Di 氐 (Fu Jian 苻堅), located in the present day Shaanxi, Gansu and Ningxia, seem to have owned even larger numbers of armoured cavalries. Written sources maintain that Qifu Qiangui 乞伏乾歸 lost 60,000 armoured horses in one single battle against Yao Xing 姚興 of the Later Qin 後秦.⁶⁰ Fu Hong 苻宏 gave Lü Guang 呂光 5,000 “iron equestrians” (*tieji* 鐵騎) in order to conquer the western regions.⁶¹ It is interesting to note that most of the pottery equestrians from Xi'an tombs of the late fourth or early fifth century seem to sit on horses larger than the ones of previous times (pl. 49).⁶² Horse sizes for these areas are not mentioned in written sources. But considering the rather dense concentration of early archaeological sites in Xi'an and adjacent areas,⁶³ and the huge numbers of horses mentioned in texts, it appears that “large” horses were first introduced or bred in great numbers in the Guanlong 關隴 region (present day Shaanxi and Ningxia). The rather “Indo-European” countenance of several pottery figurines from the tombs at Xinji 新集 near Guyuan 固原 (fourth to fifth centuries), Ningxia (pl. 50),⁶⁴ may provide a hint, in addition to the ethnic complexities of the region, for the possible origins of these horses: most likely at this early stage they came from the oasis kingdoms along the Silk Road or even from Western Turkestan.

STATUS OF THE HORSE

The horse as motif, especially on representative objects such as belt buckles or necklaces, was strikingly dominant among the early Xianbei works of art,⁶⁵ thus underscoring the central position of horses in Xianbei culture. Furthermore, clues to the high esteem of horses in Xianbei society can be drawn from certain titles and names, either of a tribe or an individual, which are preserved only in Chinese transcriptions. Examples are: (1) Helan 賀蘭, a tribe which offered marital alliances with the imperial clan of the Tuoba-Xianbei from the third century; (2) Helaitou 賀賴頭,⁶⁶ Helutou 賀虜頭,⁶⁷ Eloutou 闕陋頭,⁶⁸ Aliutou 阿六頭, Heliuhun 賀

already in complete bardings or only in part. For “armoured horses” in literature see Yang Hong “Zhongguo gudai maju”, p. 629. Beside the citations Yang Hong drew, attention must be also paid to the term “iron horses” (*tiema* 鐵馬) and “iron equestrians” (*tieji* 鐵騎), which seem to refer to the fully armed riders as well as to their horses. Literary sources have it that Murong De of the Southern Yan, in present day Shandong, organized a military drill in 403 with no less than 53,000 “iron equestrians” (*Jin shu*, j. 127, p. 3172; *Zizhi tongjian*, j. 113, p.3567-3568); see also Dien, “The Stirrup and its Effect”, p. 37.

⁵⁸ The most famous tomb murals for this area are the ones in the tomb of Dong Shou 冬壽 (died AD 359) und the tomb of dancers of the Kokuryo period; see Dien, “The Stirrup and its Effect”.

⁵⁹ As mentioned by Yang Hong, “Zhongguo gudai maju”, p. 629, several complete armours for men and horses were excavated from tombs in Liaoyang 遼陽 and Beipiao 北票 in the once territory of the Former Yan (337-370AD).

⁶⁰ *Jin shu*, j. 107, p. 2981.

⁶¹ *Jin shu*, j. 122, p. 3054.

⁶² This seems at least to be a local tradition, see also the horse depiction of the Guyuan 固原 area in Tang times; Ningxia guyuan bowuguan 寧夏固原博物館 (ed.), *Guyuan lishi wenwu* 固原歷史文物 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2004), pp. 173-175.

⁶³ So far several tombs of similar dates of the fourth century were discovered in this area, but only a few have been published; see, for example, Shaanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 陝西省文物管理委員會, “Xi'an nanjiao Caochangpocun Beichao mu de faxian 西安南郊草場坡村北朝墓的發現”, *Kaogu* 6 (1959), pp. 285-287; Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所, “Chang'anxian Beichao muzang qingli jianbao 長安縣北朝墓葬清理簡報”, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 5 (1990), pp. 57-62; Xianyangshi wenwu kaoguyanjiusuo 咸陽市文物考古研究所, “Xiangyang Pingling Shiliuguo mu qingli jianbao 咸陽平陵十六國墓清理簡報”, *Wenwu* 8 (2004), pp. 4-28; Yue Qi 岳起, Liu Weipeng 劉衛鵬, “Guanzhongdiqu Shiliuguo mu de chubu rending – jiantan Xianyang Pingling Shiliuguo mu chutu de guchuiyong 關中地區十六國墓的出土認定—兼談咸陽平陵十六國墓出土的鼓吹俑”, *Wenwu* 8 (2004), pp. 41-53. One tomb of Later Qin times was discovered in Dongjiacun 董家村, Xi'an, with similar finds. No report has been published, but an unclear photo was given on the back cover of *Kaogu yu wenwu* 5 (1998).

⁶⁴ Luo Feng 羅豐, “Pengyang Xinji Beimei mu 彭陽新集北魏墓”, *Wenwu* 9 (1988), pp. 26-42.

⁶⁵ Zhang Jingming 張景明, *Zhongguo beifang caoyuan gudai jinyin qi* 中國北方草原古代金銀器 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2005), pp. 61-93, especially pp. 76-77.

⁶⁶ *Jin shu*, j. 110, p. 2838; a Shanyu of the Xiongnu, who surrendered together with his fellows of the confederation in 357 to Murong Jun. Helaitou and others were confined in the Pingshu fortress in the Dai Prefecture 代郡平舒城. See Peter A. Boodberg

六渾, or Heluhun 賀鹿渾,⁶⁹ all names or titles of princes and high-ranking persons; (3) and Helazhen 曷刺真,⁷⁰ the title of the bodyguards serving the Northern Wei emperor in the fifth century. All these names or titles may be traced back to the old-Turkish or Turco-Mongolian *alay*, *atlan-*, or **alutu*, meaning “variegated”, “dapple”, or “piebald”⁷¹ – i.e., they describe the preferred coat colours of warhorses of the northern nomads.⁷² Although the Chinese transcriptions cited above may imply the idea of “mixed races”,⁷³ these terms were obviously not meant to throw a negative light on the high-ranking persons who bore these names. Finally, not only did the close association of distinguished persons with horses attest to the high reputation of horses in these nomadic societies,⁷⁴ but the various coat colours mentioned above – and in the literature more generally – also indicate that crossbreeding was already widely practised.

Despite the fact that even common members of the Tuoba were experienced and devoted riders, good horses remained status symbols. Just as with the Sasanian aristocrats, to choose a horse for his personal use marked an event in the life of a Xianbei prince. And a good choice served as an indication of the above-average intelligence of the young lad.⁷⁵ The question of how to denote or mark a personal horse through branding, already common in Liao times, is not noted in art works or literature of the time. It seems that horses were then recognised through markings on the coat.⁷⁶

It was probably the privilege of a Tuoba queen that she was escorted by female bodyguards in armour.⁷⁷ However, pottery figurines of female riders suggest that during Northern Wei times women also rode horses, if not many. Neither the mounted female escort nor female aristocratic equestrians were evidenced for the Murong, which implies a difference in gender status between the Tuoba and Murong societies. The scarcity of Tuoba female riders as reflected in pottery figurines can be affirmed through Song Yun 宋雲 of the Northern Wei. On his way to India this early pilgrim was so amazed by the sight at Khotans (Yutian 于闐) that he

(author) Alvin P. Cohen (comp.), *Selected Works of Peter A. Boodberg* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 51. Boodberg identified this Helaitou and Liu Eloutou (see note 68) as the same person.

⁶⁷ Prince of a Tuyuhun king, who came to the court of the Northern Wei in the year 492; see *Wei shu*, j. 7B, p. 168.

⁶⁸ Name of the second son of Liu Hu 劉虎, the Tiefu Xiongnu 鐵弗匈奴. He “usurped” the lordship of the confederation after the death of his brother Wuhuan 務桓; see *Wei shu*, j. 95, p. 2054, and Boodberg, *Selected Works*, p. 50.

⁶⁹ Helihun was the nickname of Gao Huan 高歡, the founder of the Northern Qi dynasty. This name occurs in *Bei Qi shu*, j. 1. A variation of the same name, recorded in the fifth century as the name of a high Tuoba official, reads Heluhun 賀鹿渾. Boodberg also listed a whole range of variations of these “names” or terms which all have the same root and meaning “mixed” (*Selected Works*, pp. 260-263).

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 108. According to Boodberg the title *Helazhen* represents “undoubtedly *atlačin ‘horseman’ from tk. *atla* ‘to mount a horse’”, thus “a purely Turkish form in T’o-pa [Tuoba]”. Strangely enough, this foreign language title occurs only in the *Nan Qi shu* (j. 57, p. 994) but not in the *Wei shu*. The *Nan Qi shu* explained that *Helazhen* means *Sanlang* (三郎) in Chinese, i.e., the bodyguards of emperors. The author of *Wei shu* adopted the Chinese term *sanlang* obviously in order to present the Tuoba as sinicized and cultured. According to written sources, the post of *sanlang* was occupied by young royal members of the Tuoba confederation who became perfect horsemen and archers. The proximity to the Tuoba emperors made the position of *sanlang* a most prestigious one.

⁷¹ For the reconstruction see Boodberg, *Selected Works*, pp. 111-112, 260-263. According to Boodberg, *atlan-* means “to ride” in Old-Turkish while *at-* stood for horse, whereas *ala* means variegated. Later on, these terms were equated with the horse. Boodberg and Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur le Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (Paris 1903; rpt. Taipei: Chengwen shuju, 1969), p. 56, 2, give the example in *Tongdian* 通典 (j. 197), where “Helan” was explained as “horse”; see also Annemarie von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*. Porta Linguarum Orientalium (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974; 3rd ed.), p. 67, no. 89.

⁷² As was mentioned already in *Qimin yaoshu* (p. 278), the same applies to the Sasanian rider; see A. Sh. Shahbazi, “ASB. i. in Pre-Islamic Iran”, in: Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, II. 7 (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), p. 729.

⁷³ Cf. note 69.

⁷⁴ This was already the case in the Avestan period in Western and Central Asia where many eminent people combined their names with the element *aspa-* (horse). Cf. Shahbazi, “ASB. i. in Pre-Islamic Iran”, p. 725.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 729; Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 (comp.), *Zhou shu* 周書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1971), j. 12, p. 187.

⁷⁶ Again *Zhou shu*, as in note 75.

⁷⁷ *Nan Qi shu*, j. 57, p. 985.

jotted down: “(here) women wore shirts, pants and belts, and rode (horses) like men”,⁷⁸ which clearly demonstrates that horse riding in this part of the world was definitely a normal way of life.

SADDLES AND STIRRUPS

The origins of stirrups and saddles with high cantles remain obscure. The Parthian cavalries already had relatively advanced saddles with thick plates in the front and at the back. The warriors and their mounts were fully covered with armour in small plates. The famous graffito of Dura-Europos in Syria (third century) demonstrates a fully armoured rider with a lance. Lances became the major weapons on horseback in West Asia during this period. However, as indicated by Shahbazi, most of the Parthian warriors rode bareback horses and wore little protective clothing.⁷⁹ At least from the beginning of the fourth century onwards the Murong based on the western Liao River deployed a similar type of saddle built on a wooden saddletree (pl. 51), and metal stirrups.

New weapons on horseback could have included lances *mao* 矛. Long chopping swords *dao* 刀 are definitely evidenced.⁸⁰ Both the new saddles and stirrups gave heavily armed warriors the necessary support while fighting with these weapons on horseback. Possibly, after other Xianbei groups and non-Xianbei nomads had deployed these new inventions and got hold of better horses from the West, the Murong lost their superiority in wars. At least the finds of stirrups from east to west could partly support this hypothesis (see below).

Both saddles and stirrups developed progressively from the fourth to the sixth centuries. The murals from the tomb of Lou Rui show that the saddles developed into a new form and are already similar to finds in Xinjiang (pl. 52), dated to Tang times. These new saddles, comparable to military saddles of nowadays, are more comfortable both for horse and rider on long journeys.

The earliest evidence of stirrups in the Chinese cultural sphere comes from Changsha and is dated to 302 AD. But it remains undisputable that the early archaeological finds concentrate on the Liao River basin, where the Murong used to preside. Based on archaeological finds, the use of new saddles and stirrups did spread not only eastwards to the Korean peninsula and Japan,⁸¹ but also from east to west,⁸² which coincided roughly with the military success of different Xianbei groups. The earliest one-sided stirrups were used for mounting only. Paired stirrups were invented soon after. Both types existed in parallel for over one century.⁸³ The early paired stirrups are oval rings and have no tread,⁸⁴ thus not necessarily giving a comfortable foothold. However, with an inner diameter of 10.6-11.3 cm they are wide enough to have the ball of the foot resting on them.⁸⁵ Considering the newly introduced horse breeds of larger sizes as mentioned above and the

⁷⁸ See *Chong kan Luoyang qielan ji*, j. 5, p. 39b.

⁷⁹ Shahbazi, “ASB. i. in Pre-Islamic Iran”, p. 728.

⁸⁰ A sword with a length of 122 cm was found in Meiligaitou, Zhuozhi County, City of Wulanchabu. It has been dated to the Western Jin (third century AD) and has been attributed to the Tuoba-Xianbei; see *Zhonghua shijitan yishuguan 中華世紀壇藝術館* (ed.), *Zhongguo gudai beifang caoyuan youmu wenhua 成吉思汗. 中國古代北方草原游牧文化* (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2004), p. 128, fig. 2.

⁸¹ See Yang Hong and Wang Tieying, as in note 6.

⁸² Shing Müller, *Die Gräber der Nördlichen Wei-Dynastie (386–534)* (Munich: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2000; Dr. phil. Dissertation), pp. 158-160.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ See the detailed study of Dien, “The Stirrups and its Effect”.

⁸⁵ Such a manner of horse riding with stirrups is exactly depicted in the Koguryo and Silla finds; see Dien, *ibid.*, p. 35. For the width of the early stirrups and the body height of their users see, for example, M101, M202 and M266 at Lamadong; Liaoning-sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 遼寧省文物考古研究所 et al., “Liaoning Beipiao Lamadong mudi 1998 nian fajue baogao 遼寧北票喇嘛洞墓地 1998 年發掘報告”, *Kaogu xuebao* 2 (2004), pp. 209-242. The two skeletons in M266 are not completely preserved. However, the better preserved one, under whose feet the saddles, stirrups and horse trappings were found, can be calculated to be 178 to 179 cm tall by this author according to the scale given in fig. 7, p. 214. The modern European stirrups also have standard widths of 10, 11, 12 cm, seldom exceeding 15 cm. Some excavated Mongolian stirrups may have a width of up to 15 cm; see Xiang Chunsong 項春松, “Neimenggu Chifengshi Yuanbaoshan Yuandai bihua mu 內蒙古赤峰市元寶山元代壁畫墓”, *Wenwu* 4 (1983), p. 42, fig. 7 (The widths of the excavated stirrups were seldom reported. In this case, the height of the stirrup is

heavy load of the armour and weapons for riders, stirrups probably became necessary for mounting and rides. Pottery figurines and tomb murals of the late fourth to the fifth centuries elucidate that stirrups became widespread. They were used by the steppe people not just in warfare; be it a military drill or a favourable pastime, stirrups became a part of the requisite (pl. 53).

RITUAL

For the Tuoba period, the ritual value of horses was mainly reflected in historical texts. White horses, still the most desired ones for ritual and ceremonial purposes,⁸⁶ were sacrificed to Heaven, other horses were sacrificed to the ancestors and higher gods, while lesser gods received oxen or sheep. There are many burials of the early Xianbei discovered in Manchuria and Mongolia. They - like the Xiongnu - buried horse crania and toes to represent the sacrifice of a complete animal for the high-ranking deceased. However, burial rites similar to the ones used for Skythian and Saka lords, with a large number of animals being sacrificed, cannot yet be manifested archaeologically for the Xianbei or other steppe peoples from the fourth to the sixth centuries.

It seems solely to be a custom among the Murong that they buried the highly valued and costly horse trappings and saddles and, occasionally, stirrups with persons of the uppermost echelons while horse skeletons were rarely found in graves. The excavated tombs of the Murong in Liaoning revealed a direct relationship between the richness of grave-goods and the presence of horse saddles and stirrups, which occur only in male burials. In addition to obvious economic affluence and high social prestige, this gender dependency probably also indicates a warrior status. The same sepulchral habit cannot be attested for the other Xianbei groups. Some members of the Tuoba confederation kept on depositing horse crania and hoofs until the sixth century, even for women's burials, though not frequently.⁸⁷ But not a single saddle or stirrup was found in the large graveyards of the tribal members of Tuoba-Xianbei confederation, south and east of Datong.⁸⁸ Only from the end of the fifth century onwards, down to the end of the sixth century, stirrups were sporadically located in the tombs of Tuoba and other non-Xianbei aristocrats, possibly with a Murong affiliation, and became a token for such status in mortuary practices. As late as in Tang and Liao times, stirrups, sometimes also in miniature, were occasionally placed in the tombs of the nobility, while saddles, also not being attested in any burials of the Tuoba period, were deposited in tombs of Liao aristocrats and occasionally in Tang tombs.

As mentioned above, large troops of mounted warriors were either depicted as tomb murals or as pottery figurines on the border regions of the Later Han, Wei and Jin dynasties. These depictions forcefully suggest that the mounted warriors were an integral part of the funeral procession among the nobility. The pottery equestrian figurines and tomb murals of cavalry were integrated into the burial customs of the upper class, both for the Tuoba and the Chinese, from the fifth century. Moreover, in the North, through the Tuoba, the depiction of mounted warriors also became a special feature of Tang funerals until the eighth century. Finally, from the second half of the Northern Wei in the early sixth century, the Sasanian way of condolence – leading the favourite horse of the deceased, fully caparisoned but without the rider, in the funeral proces-

stated to be 15 cm, and the width, judging from the photo, seems to be rather close to the length.). It seems that the Murong already realized the danger of getting caught by the stirrups when a rider fell from his horse.

⁸⁶ Based on literary writings, there is no direct link between a horse with a white coat and its speed.

⁸⁷ For example, the tomb of Yao Qiji 姚齊姬 (died 499) at Baotou 包頭, Inner Mongolia; Zheng Long 鄭隆, "Neimenggu Baotou shi Beiwei Yao Qiji mu 內蒙古包頭市北魏姚齊姬墓", *Kaogu* 9 (1988), pp. 856-857; see also Müller, *Die Gräber der Nördlichen Wei-Dynastie*, p. 189.

⁸⁸ For the cemetery with 157 excavated burials to the south of Datong see Shanxi daxue lishi wenhua xueyuan 山西大學歷史文化學院 et al. (eds.), *Datong nanjiao Beiwei muqun* 大同南郊北魏墓群 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2006). Cf. also the most recent find of a cemetery east of Datong city with 75 excavated burials, Datongshi kaogu yanjiusuo 大同市考古研究所, "Shanxi Datong Yingbin dadao Beiwei muqun 山西大同迎賓大道北魏墓群", *Wenwu* 10 (2006), pp. 50-71. The burials can be dated roughly between the 43's and the end of the fifth century.

sion – became fashionable among the nobility (pl. 54).⁸⁹ This string of traditions lasted even down to the Liao dynasty.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Turning away from the practical use of horses for the Xianbei and other steppe peoples during the time from 300 to 600 AD and looking at the artistic aspect of this period, it is noted that the horse became one of the focuses for artistic expressions in the North. Never before were horses so superbly and beautifully depicted as the ones on the murals of Lou Rui's tomb (pl. 55). The esteem and status of horses deeply rooted in the Xianbei societies had obviously been transformed into a new tradition in paintings of Tang times. Besides, certain customs of Tang times were a reminiscence of the nomadic way of life of the Xianbei. It was said, according to *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 of Duan Chengshi 段成式 of the eighth century, that a deep blue felt tent for the newly wed was to be raised in front of the residence. Wolfgang Eberhard explained plausibly that this custom originated in the Northern Dynasties and that such tents were erected in studs for sires to cover mares.⁹⁰ It was also during this period that through the contact with oasis states the Chinese learned about the dancing horses;⁹¹ it is unlikely that the Xianbei regime was not aware of or did not appreciate this artistic talent of horses, but written sources remain silent. The policy and attitudes towards horses in the early medieval period left an imprint on the cultural life in northern China. The esteem of the Xianbei towards horses fused into the way of life of the Tang society and greatly influenced the Han Chinese of the following centuries. This can also be regarded as a contribution of Xianbei culture to that of the Han Chinese.

⁸⁹ Riboud, Pénélope, "Le cheval sans cavalier dans l'art funéraire sogdien en Chine: à la recherche des sources d'un thème composite", *Arts Asiatiques* 58 (2003), pp. 148-161.

⁹⁰ See Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China*, p. 22. Eberhard cites the *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 of Duan Chengshi 段成式 (see the annotated version by Fang Nansheng 方南生 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981], j. 1, p. 7) and points to a record in *Bei shi* (j. 8, p. 301) concerning the pairing of horses at the court of Northern Qi.

⁹¹ *Taiping yulan*, j. 895, p. 3973 (Tuyuhun presented the emperor of Song in 461 with a dancing horse), j. 896, p. 3980 (The king of Shule brought Lü Guang in 393 AD a dancing horse). For dancing horses in Tang times see Paul W. Kroll, "The Dancing Horses of T'ang", *T'oung Pao* 67 (1981), pp. 240-268.

Vom Roß zur Schindmähre: Bilder des Pferdes in den Künsten der Tang-Zeit (618–907)¹

Wolfgang KUBIN²

Meine Aufgabe ist eine einfache und eine schwierige zugleich. Einfach, weil es bereits seit langem und ausreichend Material zur Geschichte des Pferdes in China gibt,³ schwierig, weil ich die bekannten Dinge nicht simpel wiederholen darf, sondern etwas Neues aufzuweisen habe. Überdies bin ich kein Fachmann für das Thema der Konferenz. Es wird mir daher hauptsächlich um die übertragene Bedeutung des Pferdes in der chinesischen Kultur gehen, die mit dessen früher Heiligsprechung zu tun hat und vielleicht inhaltlich noch nicht hinlänglich ausgeschöpft worden ist. Bekanntlich folgt, was seine symbolische Bedeutung und Funktion angeht, in der chinesischen Tierskala auf den Drachen an der Spitze unmittelbar das Pferd an zweiter Stelle, und ein gutes Pferd wurde entsprechend gern „Drachentpferd“ (*longma* 龍馬) oder „Himmelpferd“ (*tianma* 天馬) genannt, nicht selten gar mit dem Drachen gleichgesetzt und somit in die Nähe einer höheren Wasser spendenden Kraft gerückt. Doch zu übertragenen Dingen wie diesen später.

I

Der amerikanische Sinologe Herlee G. Creel hat im Rahmen seiner kurzen Geschichte des Pferdes in China (1965) die Bedeutung besagten Tieres für das Reich der Mitte wie folgt konstatiert:⁴

For some two thousand years China's foreign relations, military policy, economic well-being, and indeed its very existence as an independent state were importantly conditioned by the horse.

Er zitiert auch die Worte des Generals Ma Yuan 馬援 (14. v. Chr. bis 49 n. Chr.), der nicht zufällig den bald gängigen Familiennamen Ma (Pferd) trug.⁵ Einer seiner Vorfahren hatte nämlich bereits den Wert einer Kavallerie für Kriegszwecke entdeckt und war deshalb mit dem Titel „der Fürst, der die Pferde zu zähmen versteht“ (Mafu jun 馬服君) geehrt worden. Ma Yuan nun ließ auf dem Bronzmodell eines Pferdes die folgenden Worte eingravieren: „Horses are the foundation of military might, the great resource of the state.“⁶ In diesen Zusammenhang paßt auch, was ein weiterer amerikanischer Sinologe, nämlich Edward H. Schafer (1913–1991), aus den Tang-Annalen (*Tangshu* 唐書) zu unserem Gegenstand anzuführen weiß: „Horses are the military preparedness of the state; if Heaven takes this preparedness away, the state will totter to a fall.“⁷

Wenn nun Creel und Schafer mit ihren Zitaten recht haben, was ohne Frage der Fall ist, dann sind auch der Anfang und das Ende meines Beitrages, ja die Zielvorgaben nahezu beliebig. Zu alltäglich, zu allgemein, zu selbstverständlich scheint die Sache mit dem Pferd zu sein. Nehmen wir nämlich noch neuerliche Erkenntnisse aus der Erforschung von Orakelknochen- und Bronzeinschriften hinzu, würde sich der Raum

¹ Wertvolle Anregungen verdanke ich Gesprächen mit Prof. Wang Jinmin von der Universität Peking.

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³ Immer noch äußerst lesenswert ist z.B. Eduard Erkes, „Das Pferd im Alten China“, *T'oung Pao*, 2. Ser., 36 (1942), S. 26-63.

⁴ Herlee G. Creel, „The Role of the Horse in Chinese History“, in: Ders.: *What is Taoism? and Other Studies in Chinese Cultural History* (Chicago u. a.: University of Chicago Press, 1970), S. 160.

⁵ Nach Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒 u. a. (Hg.): *Jiaguwen cidian* 甲骨文辭典 (Chengdu: Sichuan cishu, 1988), S. 1067f, ist Ma allerdings schon auf den Orakelknochen als Familienname neben der Bedeutung von Haustier und Aufseher über die Pferde nachgewiesen.

⁶ Creel, *The Role of the Horse*, S. 173.

⁷ Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand. A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), S. 58. Der Autor behandelt das Thema Pferde erschöpfend auf den Seiten 58-70.

unseres Gegenstandes um weitere tausend bis zweitausend Jahre nach hinten erweitern. Zögen wir die Philosophie zu Rate, müßten wir uns von dem Sophisten Gongsun Long 公孫龍 (frühes 3. Jh. v. Chr.) belehren lassen, daß ein weißes Pferd kein Pferd sei. So oder ähnlich könnte unser Unterfangen endlos fortgehen und sehr bald allzu spitzfindig werden. Doch glücklicherweise war das Pferd in China, unabhängig von seiner mal kleinen, mal großen Gestalt,⁸ auch in seiner Rolle und Funktion nicht immer und überall gleich.⁹ Nach dem, was wir heute wissen, war es zunächst seit der vermeintlichen Xia-Dynastie (trad. ca. 2070–1600 v. Chr.) als Haustier ein Esstier, wurde dann in der historisch belegbaren Shang-Dynastie (ca. 1600–1046) als Zugtier benutzt, um Wagen, auch Streitwagen zu ziehen. Erst am Ende der Zhou-Dynastie (1046–221) hatte man um 300 v. Chr. von den „Barbaren“ das Reiten erlernt und den Wert von berittenen Bogenschützen für die Kriegsführung erkannt. Gleichwohl sollte die hohe Kunst des Reitens den Chinesen lange Zeit eher fremd bleiben¹⁰ und ist auch heute wenig verbreitet (von Hongkong und Macau einmal abgesehen).

Doch es gab seit jeher neben dem rein pragmatischen noch einen spirituellen Aspekt. Wie in anderen Kulturen ebenfalls wurde das Pferd in der mythologischen Überlieferung anfänglich mit der Sonne gleichgesetzt und dadurch zum Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit.¹¹ Das Bild des von einem Pferd gezogenen Sonnenwagens ist zentral für einen der großen schamanistischen Gesänge in den *Liedern des Südens* (*Chuci* 楚辭, ca. 300 v. Chr.).¹² Unter all den Ehren, welche dem Pferd im Opfer- und Totenkult Chinas zuteil wurden, sticht die Vorstellung insbesondere hervor, welche im Pferd den Ahnherrn der Menschheit erblickt. So heißt es in vielen Überlieferungen des Altertums und des Mittelalters ganz schlicht: „Das Pferd hat den Menschen geboren“ (*ma sheng ren* 馬生人). Mythischen Vorstellungen vom Pferd als Ahn der Menschheit mag *Das Buch der Wandlungen* (*Yijing* 易經) vorausgehen, welches das Pferd als von der Erde geboren ansieht und daher mit der Erde gleichsetzt. Und wir wissen, wie viel das zu besagen hat, kommt doch der Erde im Rahmen der Lehre von der weltimmanenten Dreieinigkeit neben Himmel und Mensch eine entscheidende kosmologische Bedeutung zu. Wenn auch nicht ganz passend zu späteren Vorstellungen von Yin und Yang, steht das Pferd für die männliche Kraft des Yang. Es hatte dieses in seiner Funktion als gern verwendete Grabbeigabe den Toten zukommen zu lassen. Und es stand auch für den Mond, weil man in der Antike der Auffassung nachhing, daß der Weg des Mondes schneller als der der Sonne war. In letzterem Fall avancierte das Pferd übrigens vom Zeichen für Schnelligkeit auch zum Zeichen der fliehenden Zeit. Ein berühmtes Gleichnis des ausgehenden Altertums sprach von der Zeit als einem weißen Fohlen (*bai ju* 白駒), das, an einem Spalt vorübereilend, vom menschlichen Auge nur flüchtig wahrgenommen wird.¹³

Gleichwohl dürfen wir im Einzelfall nicht von einer rein dienenden Aufgabe des Pferdes ausgehen, sonst würde nicht erklärlich, warum später Kaiser ihre Lieblingspferde nicht nur schon zu Lebzeiten für ihre Mausoleen nachbilden ließen (T. 56),¹⁴ sondern ihnen auch Epitaphe widmeten, um ihrer über den Tod hinaus gedenken zu lassen (T. 57).¹⁵ Das heißt, zwischen Mensch und Tier bestand augenscheinlich kein

⁸ Vgl. hierzu die nüchterne Sicht von Bernd Melchers, *Himmelspferde. Pferde in der Kunst Chinas* (Kassel: Friedrich Lometsch, 1958), S. 6f. Der Autor war, als „Reiter und Pferdefreund“ Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts in China, enttäuscht über die kleinen chinesischen Pferde. Ebd., S. 6.

⁹ Vgl. hierzu Jeanette Werning und Melanie Janssen-Kim: „Himmlische Pferde im Reich der Mitte. Historische und archäologische Dimensionen“, in Alfred Wiczorek/Michael Tellenbach (Hg.): *Pferdestärken. Das Pferd bewegt die Menschheit*. Publikationen der Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen 23 (Mannheim: Philipp von Zabern, 2007), S. 77–86.

¹⁰ Vgl. hierzu Creel, *The Role of the Horse*, S. 181, 185; Erkes, „Das Pferd im alten China“, S. 49–55.

¹¹ Vgl. hierzu Robert Hans van Gulik, *Hayagrīva. Horse-Cult in Asia* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2005).

¹² Für das *Lisao* 離騷 (*Die Elegie des Qu Yuan*), s. Peter Weber-Schäfer, *Altchinesische Hymnen* (Köln: Hegner 1967), S. 201. Zur Verbindung von „Dichterroß“ und „Himmelspferd“ in der abendländischen Kultur siehe Friederike Wappenschmidt: „Pferd und Reiter in der Kunst. Die Physiognomie einer Beziehung“, in *Ars Antiqua Frankfurt*, Katalog der Messe Frankfurt (27.11. bis 5.12.1993), S. 10.

¹³ Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記, 10 Bde. (Hongkong: Zhonghua shuju, 1969), VI, j. 55, S. 2048; Burton Watson (Üb.), *Records of the Grand Historian of China*. Bd. 1: *Early Years of the Han Dynasty, 209 to 141 B.C.* (New York und London: Columbia University Press, 1968), S. 150.

¹⁴ Bekannt sind die sechs Reliefs der Lieblingshengste von Tang-Kaiser Taizong 唐太宗 (reg. 627–649), entworfen von dem berühmten Maler Yan Liben 閻立本 (601–673), s. *Xi'an. Kaiserliche Macht im Jenseits. Ausstellungskatalog Bonn* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), S. 267, 270f.

¹⁵ So für die sechs Lieblingspferde des Song-Kaiser Taizong 宋太宗 (reg. 976–997), s. ebd., S. 270.

grundlegender Unterschied, zumal Konfuzius schon früh befand, daß sich ein gutes Pferd (wie ein Edler) durch seine „Tugend“ (*de* 德) auszeichne¹⁶, eine Tugend, die wir bei dieser Erweiterung des Begriffs sicherlich in die Nähe der griechischen ἀρετή bringen können, die neben Menschen auch auf Dinge wie z.B. eine Wagendeichsel bezogen wurde. Vielleicht ist in dieser veranschlagten Nähe von Pferd und Tugend ein Grund dafür zu sehen, daß bei der gleichzeitigen Abbildung von Mensch und Tier zur Tang-Zeit die dreifarbigige (*sancal* 三彩) Pferdeskulptur nicht selten einen hehreren Eindruck macht als die ebenfalls dreifarbig gebrannte Figur des oder der Reitenden (T. 58).¹⁷

Es kann hier nicht meine Aufgabe sein, vor meiner eigentlichen Pflicht all die Dinge aufzuzählen, die sich seit alters mit dem Pferd verbanden, besonders seit Kaiser Wu der Han (reg. 140–87 v. Chr.), ein Liebhaber arabischer Hengste, kostspielige Feldzüge nach Ferghana, ins heutige Turkestan, unternahm, um seinen Besitz von erstklassigen Reittieren zu sichern. Wichtig scheint mir gleichwohl der Hinweis, daß das Pferd, ob nun vor oder nach dem Eindringen des Buddhismus, immer auch als Übermittler heiliger Schriften angesehen wurde. Aufgrund der guten Überlieferung sind vor allem Bilder bekanntgeworden, die berittene Pilger auf dem Wege von und nach Indien zeigen (T. 59).¹⁸ Der Grund ihrer Unternehmungen sind selbstverständlich buddhistische Sutren.

Im folgenden möchte ich mich auf die Tang-Zeit beschränken, weil sie dem Pferd in ihren Künsten einen besonderen Stellenwert zugestanden hat. Dies hat einen einfachen Grund. Das damalige China war wesentlich vom Adel geprägt, dem das Privileg der Pferdehaltung zustand, und der auch gern Polo spielte. Da die Aristokratie 907 unterging und 960 durch die Bürokratie ersetzt wurde, ging im Laufe der Zeit auch deren Pferdekultur verloren. Man ritt später nicht mehr ins Amt, man spielte auch kein Polo mehr, als alles Militärische – wir würden vielleicht heute sagen, alles Sportliche – als Tugend einer Zivilisation zu weichen hatte, die nicht mehr den wehrtüchtigen Mann zum Ideal erhob. Es war dieser oftmals längst schon im Niedergang begriffene Adel der Tang-Dynastie, der dem Pferd eine kulturelle Bedeutung zukommen ließ und durch das Pferd, ob in Form einer Skulptur, auf einem Gemälde oder mittels Lyrik wie Prosa, die eigene Weltanschauung zum Ausdruck brachte. Damit ist besonders der Gedanke der Unzeit gemeint – jene Vorstellung, alles Schöne und Edle auf Erden habe keine wahre Heimat, sei vielmehr zum Untergang verdammt. Beispielhaft kommt dies in dem Gleichnis vom Tausend-Meilen-Pferd bei dem Essayisten Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) zum Ausdruck.¹⁹ Umgekehrt weiß die damalige Erzählkunst auch davon zu berichten, daß alles, was „diese Welt“ übersteigt, nicht ewig auf den Beistand seines vierbeinigen Trägers rechnen darf, sondern sein bitteres Ende allein zu gewärtigen hat. So beschließt Shen Jiji 沈既濟 (ca. 840–ca. 800) seine bekannte Erzählung über die von Hunden zerrissene *Fuchsfée* (*Renshi zhuan* 任氏傳) mit dem folgenden großen Bild einer gleichgültigen Kreatur:²⁰

Er sah Fräulein Rens Pferd am Wegesrand Gras rupfen. Ihre Kleider hingen noch am Sattel, ihre Schuhe und Strümpfe in den Steigbügeln gleich der leeren Haut einer Zikade, nur der Kopfputz war zur Erde gefallen. Sonst aber deutete nichts mehr auf sie, selbst ihre Dienerinnen und Diener waren spurlos verschwunden.

¹⁶ Vgl. hierzu Magdalene von Dewall, *Pferd und Wagen im frühen China*, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 1 (Bonn: Habelt, 1964), S. 198f. Zum Wagenjunkerideal dort S. 85–95. Der im *Buch der Lieder* erwähnte Wagenjunker wurde im (konfuzianischen) Sinne des Edlen (*junzi* 君子) rezipiert.

¹⁷ Vgl. hierzu die Abbildungen in: *Xi'an. Kaiserliche Macht im Jenseits*, S. 277–283, 290f, 320f.

¹⁸ Vgl. z.B. Anil de Silva, *Chinesische Landschaftsmalerei. Am Beispiel der Höhlen von Tun-huang* (dt. Üb. Leopold Voelker) (Baden-Baden: Holle, 1964), S. 137, 155, 204f (Buddha als Reiter).

¹⁹ Vgl. meine Ausführungen zum klassischen chinesischen Essay in: Marion Eggert u. a., *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur*. Bd. 4: *Die klassische chinesische Prosa* (München: Saur, 2004), S. 33.

²⁰ Unter Benutzung der heutigen Umschrift zitiert nach Wolfgang Bauer und Herbert Franke (Üb.), *Die goldene Truhe. Chinesische Novellen aus zwei Jahrtausenden* (München: Hanser, 1959), S. 76.

II

Wie gesagt, zur Tang-Zeit ritten Mann und Frau (T. 60),²¹ über die Seidenstraße zogen Karawanen mit Kamelen und Pferden, ihre Reiter waren oft nichtchinesische Händler, „Perser“, „Araber“, Muslime, die im damals kosmopolitischen Reich allerdings keine Fremden, sondern ein natürlicher Teil der chinesischen Welt waren. Die damaligen Künste haben sich ihrer gern angenommen.²² Die Skulptur, die Malerei und das Gedicht sind hier besonders zu rühmen. Zwar ist der Han-Zeit mit dem berühmten „fliegenden Pferd“ (T. 22)²³ ein Meisterwerk gelungen, doch stellt dessen Leichtigkeit unter den ansonsten seinerzeit massiv nachgebildeten Pferdeleibern eine Ausnahme dar. Eine realistische Sicht herrschte damals eher vor. Dies gilt auch bedingt noch für die Tang-Zeit. Doch mit der Herausbildung der dreifarbigten Keramik setzt sich ein Typus durch, der die Wirklichkeit der Geschäftswelt zu übersteigen beginnt. Bekanntheit erlangt in dieser Zeit die Modellierung des „tanzenden Pferdes“ (*wuma* 舞馬). Tanzende Pferde dienten damals der Unterhaltung bei Hofe.²⁴ Ein Vergleich mag den Nutzwert und den ästhetischen Wert eines Pferdes vor Augen führen. Das von einem „nördlichen Barbaren“ (*Beihu* 北胡) geführte Pferd (T. 61)²⁵ ist gesattelt und scheint Scheuklappen zu tragen. Sein Kopf ist gesenkt, wahrscheinlich weil es geführt wird und einem fremden Willen unterliegt. Das tanzende Pferd (T. 62)²⁶ dagegen ist weder gesattelt noch trägt es Scheuklappen. Sein Kopf ist aufgerichtet, seine Augen sind geöffnet. Es hebt spielerisch das linke Bein, nimmt folglich eine andere Haltung ein und scheint nicht so auf der Erde zu ruhen wie sein Artgenosse. Ihm wächst eine spirituelle Kraft zu, die sich am ehesten am Beispiel eines der berühmten Pferdebilder der Tang-Zeit veranschaulichen läßt.

Unter den Pferdmalern der Tang-Dynastie²⁷ zählt heute Han Gan (韓干, gest. 780) zu den bedeutendsten. Er malte, 742–755 bei Hofe, das Lieblingssperd des Kaisers Xuanzong 玄宗 (reg. 712–756) namens „Leuchtende Nacht“ (*Zhaoyebai* 照夜白) (T. 63).²⁸ Das Bild ist entsprechend als „Bild von dem Pferd ‚Leuchtende Nacht‘“ (*Zhaoyebai tu* 照夜白圖) überliefert. Ich habe dieses Pferd, dessen Namen ich nach Werner Speiser wiedergebe, schon einmal zum Anlaß einer Betrachtung chinesischer Ästhetik genommen.²⁹ Die Konferenz gibt mir nun die Gelegenheit, meine damaligen Erkenntnisse zu substantiieren. Was uns zunächst auffällt, ist, daß das Pferd im Gegensatz zu den zuvor gezeigten beiden Pferden, ja selbst im Gegensatz zu dem fliegenden Pferd der Han-Dynastie, keinen Grund unter den Füßen hat. Es ist an einem Pflock angebunden, aber dennoch befindet es sich in Bewegung, gar mehr noch als das tanzende Pferd. Trotz allem scheint es seinen Lauf bremsen zu müssen und daher nur auf einer rechten und linken Hufe zu „stehen“, während die anderen beiden Hufe im Lauf angehoben innehalten. Weiter fällt der Gegensatz von massivem Körper und

²¹ Berühmt ist das Gemälde von der kaiserlichen Konkubine Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (718–756) beim Besteigen des Pferdes. Es stammt von Qian Xuan 錢選 (1239–1299), s. Werner Speiser, *China. Geist und Gesellschaft* (Baden-Baden: Holle, 1959), S. 3, 156.

²² Zu einer schlichten Bestandsaufnahme s. Ma Junmin 馬俊民 und Wang Shiping 王世平, *Tangdai mazheng* 唐代馬政 (Taipei: Wunan tushu, 1995), S. 185–197.

²³ Zum Stammbaum des Fliegenden Pferdes s. Eleanor von Erdberg, *Zur Kunst Ostasiens. Schriften und Vorträge* (Waldeck: Siebenberg, 1998), S. 271–281. S. 270 bietet auch eine Abbildung. Die chinesische Archäologie spricht eher vom „Pferd mit einem Huf auf einer fliegenden Schwalbe“. Allerdings sind die Namen so vielfältig wie die Deutungen! Dieses 1969 ausgegrabene „Himmelsperd“ ist seit 1984 Markenzeichen der chinesischen Tourismusindustrie, die im Juli 2007 bereits zum sechsten Mal ein „Festival zur Kultur des Himmelsperdes“ in der Provinz Gansu veranstaltet hat.

²⁴ Es gab eigens Trainingsstätten für die Pferdedressur, s. Dorothee Schaab-Hanke, *Die Entwicklung des höfischen Theaters in China zwischen dem 7. und 10. Jahrhundert*, Hamburger Sinologische Schriften 1 (Hamburg: Hamburger Sinologische Gesellschaft e.V., 2001), S. 39, 71.

²⁵ Abbildung in Ma Junmin und Wang Shiping, *Tangdai mazheng*, letzte Farbtafel im Einband.

²⁶ Ebd., vorletzte Farbtafel im Einband.

²⁷ Zu einer Auflistung der Namen und Bilder s. ebd., S. 190. Einen kurzen, aber brauchbaren Abriß bietet Speiser, *China*, S. 155f.

²⁸ Zu einer Abbildung s. Melchers, *Himmelsperde*, S. 38f. Das Gemälde befindet sich heute im Metropolitan Museum von New York. Volker Klöpsch, *Der seidene Faden. Gedichte der Tang* (Frankfurt: Insel, 1991), S. 163, 165, übersetzt den Namen mit „wie Wetter leuchtende[r] Schimmel“, und David Hawkes, *A Little Primer of Tu Fu* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), S. 150, 154, „Night Shiner“.

²⁹ Vgl. meinen Beitrag, „Die Pferde des Xu Beihong. Zum Verständnis moderner chinesischer Malerei“, in: Ursula Toyka-Fuong (Hg.), *Brücken und Brüche. Chinas Malerei im 20. Jahrhundert*, Sonderheft der *Orientierungen* (1998), S. 99–104.

zarten Beinen auf: Solch dünne Läufe können kaum einen so schweren, eher einem Schwein ähnelnden Körper tragen! Dem Maler kann es daher nicht um die vermeintliche Wirklichkeit seines Gegenstandes gehen! Und so nimmt es nicht Wunder, daß Han Gan, nach seinem Gemälde, das so anders sei, befragt, antwortet, er habe keinen Menschen als Lehrer, sondern die Pferde. Es gehe ihm auch nicht darum, wie andere die „Knochen“, d.h. die äußere Erscheinung eines (schlanken) Pferdes zu malen, sondern dessen Lebenskraft, die er in der Fülle des Leibes verbergen müsse.

Nochmals: Wenn es einem Maler wie Han Gan nicht darum zu tun ist, die augenfällige Realität nachzuzeichnen, worum geht es ihm dann? Nun, wie gesagt, Ziel der chinesischen Ästhetik ist die Andeutung alles Lebendigen, der Lebenskraft, kurz, des Uranfänglichen, wie dieses dank der Interaktion von Yin und Yang über den Odem (*qi* 氣) der Welt erahnbare Gestalt gewinnt. Der Odem ist grundsätzlich in Bewegung, er verhilft den „zehntausend Dingen“ zu ihrer Erscheinung. Das geschieht über den Austausch von Fülle und Leere, von Sein (*you* 有) und Potens (*wu* 無). Im Falle unseres Pferdes deutet sich derlei im Kontrast von massivem Leib und zartem Geläuf an. Ein solcher Austausch findet normalerweise in einer Art Wellenbewegung bzw. Schlangenlinie statt, die wir der gewundenen Form des Pferdes noch ansehen können.

Da über diese Dinge schon hinreichend geschrieben worden ist, muß ich hier nicht weiter ausholen.³⁰ Soviel sei gesagt: Für einen chinesischen Maler ist die Abbildung dessen, was wir die mit Augen wahrnehmbare Realität nennen, langweilig und uninteressant. Es geht ihm nur um das, was wir hinter den Dingen nicht sehen, aber vielleicht erahnen können. Dieses Etwas entzieht sich notwendigerweise dem Blick, ja unter Umständen auch dem Gedanken. Es läßt sich also weder mit Worten hinlänglich benennen noch mit Farben vollendet malen. Um aber von ihm dennoch eine sinnliche Ahnung bekommen zu können, bedarf es des einfachen Pinselstrichs, gleichsam des ersten Atemzuges. Unser Bild ist ja, wenn wir genau hinsehen, kaum gemalt, bemalt. Es zeigt nur die Umrisse eines Pferdes, der Leib selbst ist – so sieht es aus, und so paßt es auch zur Vorstellung von chinesischer Kunst – nicht (aus)gestaltet. Das große Bild hat eben keine Form.³¹ Es ist dem Betrachter nur soviel zu erkennen gegeben, daß er die Kraft zu ahnen in der Lage ist, die neben den Hufen noch im Auge und im Maul Sinnbild werden möchte. Man nennt dieses Verfahren heute Essentialismus (*xieyi* 寫意), das ein moderner chinesischer Theoretiker am Beispiel von Xu Beihongs 徐悲鴻 (1895–1953) berühmten, auch in deutschen Haushalten anzutreffenden Pferdebildern veranschaulicht hat (T. 64).³²

Wenn ich Han Gans ungewöhnliches Porträt (!) eines Pferdes richtig deute, so versinnbildlicht es eine *vis vitalis*, die sich nicht ganz frei entfalten kann, die aber trotz „Gefangenschaft“ nicht gänzlich zu lähmen ist. Chinesische Literati der damaligen Zeit haben nicht selten das Beispiel des Pferdes bemüht, um über ihre innere Zerrissenheit zu reflektieren und der Welt Auskunft zu geben.³³ Sie befanden sich oft im Amt und sehnten sich nach einem Rückzug, und wenn nicht nach Rückzug, dann um eine Erfüllung im Amt, die nicht selten wegen Intrigen oder Mißgunst unmöglich war. Das Pferd steht hier wie auch sonst nicht selten in der klassischen Dichtung der Tang-Zeit für einen heroischen Geist, der sich immer wieder eingeschränkt sieht. Dazu mehr im folgenden.³⁴

³⁰ Von mir thesenhaft zusammengefaßt in: „Fragmente einer chinesischen Ästhetik der Leere“, in: Rolf Elberfeld und Günter Wohlfart (Hg.), *Komparative Ästhetik. Künste und ästhetische Erfahrungen zwischen Asien und Europa* (Köln: chōra, 2000), S. 129–135.

³¹ Vgl. hierzu François Jullien, *Das große Bild hat keine Form oder Vom Nicht-Objekt durch Malerei. Essay über Desontologisierung* (dt. Üb. Markus Sedlaczek) (München: Fink, 2005). Der Autor behandelt auf den S. 99–115 das Prinzip von Fülle und Leere.

³² Kurz und bündig von Huang Zuolin in dem u. a. von ihm herausgegebenen Buch *Peking Opera and Mei Lanfang* (Beijing: New World, 1981), S. 15f.

³³ So verfaßte z.B. Li He 李賀 (791–817) 23 *Gedichte über Pferde* (*Ma shi ershisan shou* 馬詩二十三首), die in Wahrheit von ihm als einem verkannten Gelehrten handeln. Dazu J. D. Frodsham (Üb.), *The Poems of Li Ho* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), S. 69–77. Zum Original s. *Li He shige ji zhu* 李賀詩歌集注 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1977), S. 99–110.

³⁴ Mein Material verdanke ich Xia Zhaohui 夏朝暉 vom Lehrerseminar in Linyi 臨沂 (Shandong).

III

Interessanterweise nimmt Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770), Chinas vielleicht größter Dichter, die Diskussion über Han Gans Pferdebilder in einem seiner bekannteren Gedichte auf. Er kommt dabei zu einer anderen Einschätzung als wir Heutigen. In dem am Ende seines Lebens, wahrscheinlich 764 verfaßten siebensilbigen Langgedicht im alten Stil „Die Ballade von dem Gemälde. Für General Cao Ba“ („Danqing yin. Zeng Cao jiangjun Ba“ 丹青引. 贈曹將軍霸)³⁵ räumt er dem „General“, ein Ehrentitel, Cao Ba den Vorrang vor dessen Schüler Han Gan ein. Dabei führt er zwei Argumente für den ersten und ein Gegenargument wider den zweiten Maler ins Feld. Was Cao Ba auszeichne, sei die Gabe, das Leben in der Kunst einzufangen. Im Mittelpunkt der Ausführungen steht ein Pferd des oben bereits erwähnten Kaisers Xuanzong (hier: „der vorge Kaiser“) namens „Jadeblume“ (Yuhuacong 玉花驄):

[...]
 Ein Pferd besaß der vorge Kaiser,
 das Jadeblume hieß,
 und das er unzählige Male
 vergebens malen ließ,
 bis man es eines Tages dann
 vor seinen Thron gezogen:
 stolz stand es im Geviert, als hätte
 sich ein großer Sturm erhoben.
 Ein Wink des Kaisers, und es ward
 die Seide ausgebreitet,
 der Kaiser hat den Entwurf
 bedächtig vorbereitet.
 Auf einmal war's, als führ vom Himmel
 ein leibhafter Drache,
 und wollte jedes Pferdebild
 mit eins zunichte machen!

Als Jadeblume einen Platz
 über dem Throne fand,
 da sah das Leben Aug in Aug
 sich in der Kunst gebannt.

Zu der vermeintlich realistischen Abbildung des Pferdes tritt ein „göttliches“ Moment hinzu: Es ist dies der Windsturm bei dessen Auftritt am Hofe. Überdies vermag der Maler – durch den Akt des Malens – einen Drachen aus den Himmeln herniederfahren und im Gemälde Gestalt gewinnen zu lassen. Vieles liegt hier offensichtlich auf der Hand: Symbol des Himmelssohnes ist der Drache, ebenso sind Pferd und Drache untrennbar miteinander verbunden, des weiteren vermag nach der allgemeinen Auffassung von Du Fu jeder begnadete Künstler die jenseitigen Mächte zu rühren und zum Einzug in ein Kunstprodukt zu bewegen. Gleichwohl scheint die vom Dichter so betonte Ähnlichkeit von wirklichem und gemaltem Pferd nicht so recht zu den „Götterkräften“ (*you shen* 有神) zu passen, die er „in seinem Bild erstrahlen“ ließ. Wir lesen auch etwas von einem „wirklichen Drachen“ (*zhen long* 真龍) und hören von bisherigen Bildern, auf denen ein gemaltes Pferd mit einem gesehenen „im Äußeren nicht übereinstimmte“ (*mao bu tong* 貌不同). Im Gedicht dagegen stehen sich die wirkliche Jadeblume im Hof und die gemalte Jadeblume über dem Thron „Aug in Aug“ (*xiangxiang* 相向) als identisch gegenüber. Wie sollen wir dies erklären? Die Tang-Zeit ist keine Zeit des „Realismus“, zu sehr ist sie durchwirkt von religiösen und magischen Vorstellungen. Wir kommen vielleicht zu einer Antwort, wenn wir uns einmal Du Fuses kritischer Sicht von Han Gan zuwenden.

Sein Jünger Han Gan wird als Meister
 in seinem Fach verehrt,
 denn in der Vielfalt des Sujets

³⁵ Deutsch von Klöpsch, *Der seidene Faden*, S. 160-163 (einschließlich Kommentar). Zum Original s. *Du shu yinde*, 2 Bde. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), I, S. 121-122 (VIII.12).

hat er sich längst bewährt.
Allein Han Gan malt nur das Fleisch,
die Knochen malt er nicht,
so daß der Geist, das innre Feuer
in seinem Bild erlischt.

Es war nun exakt die Praxis der Zeit, die „Knochen“ und nicht das „Fleisch“ zu malen, nach damaliger Auffassung das Wesentliche und nicht das Äußerliche. Folge war die Abbildung von schwächtigen Pferden, bei denen die Knochen entsprechend hervorstehen konnten. Han Gan jedoch hat sich diesem Trend widersetzt und die Knochen zum äußerlich Sichtbaren erklärt, das es nicht nachzuahmen galt. Du Fu nimmt nach wie vor die herkömmliche Position ein, indem er dessen Bilder als „des Odems verlustig“ (*qi diao sang* 氣凋喪) ansieht. Dies mag verwirrend erscheinen, doch bringen wir vielleicht Klarheit in die Umstände, wenn wir bedenken, daß Du Fu und Han Gan eine unterschiedliche Auffassung von der *vis vitalis* (*qi*) zu haben scheinen. Tatsächlich „verschwindet der Odem“ (*sang qi*) im massiven Leib von Leuchtende Nacht. Er findet sich aber wieder beim Anblick der Läufe, Hufe und der gewundenen Gestalt, jedenfalls für ein Auge, das an einer späteren Ästhetik geschult ist. Wie dem auch sei, Du Fu versteht die moderne Sicht von Han Gan nicht. Seine Gedanken, wenn weitergesponnen, führen uns in ein noch größeres Dilemma hinein. So interpretiert der amerikanische Sinologe Stephen Owen (geb. 1946) besagte Verse zugespitzt wie folgt:³⁶

Like a photograph that steals the soul of its subject, the work of art can replace the living creature; it will take the name of the living horse and its place in His Majesty's affections. Everything centers on that moment when the living horse and the painted horse face one another, one hanging up the royal couch and enjoying new favor, the other down in the courtyard. Two pairs of animate eyes seem to meet, both proud. Yet the scene is a lie. The art that seems so perfectly to mirror the creature's spirit, thus usurping the creature's place in the master's affections, has eyes that look, but do not see; there is only the hard, unmoving surface, the toy. Encountering that mirror without depth, the living horse is finished, its vitality drained – as the despair of the grooms and stableboys shows. Where that vitality has gone is uncertain. Perhaps it has withdrawn into a third dimension of art behind the two-dimensional painting, giving force to the figure on the hard, unmoving surface; perhaps it is gone altogether.

Du Fu, der ein weiteres Langgedicht über Cao Ba und das Malen von Pferden, darunter auch besagte Leuchtende Nacht, verfaßt hat,³⁷ hat nicht nur in den letzten Lebensjahren gern das Bild des Vierbeiners bemüht, um seiner Sicht von der unabänderlichen Endlichkeit menschlicher Existenz Ausdruck zu verleihen. Das Bild des einst stolzen freien Rosses wandelt sich im Laufe seines Lebens zum Bild des abgezehrten Gauls (*shouma* 瘦馬), des kranken Kleppers (*bingma* 病馬) im Stall.³⁸ Nicht selten handelt es sich um ein und dasselbe Pferd, das nach all den großen Taten im Krieg zu guter Letzt nur noch seinen Tod erwarten darf. Du Fu hat immer wieder für sich und seine Zeit am Beispiel einer Schabracke (*laoma* 老馬) ein Gleichnis entworfen: Wer einmal in seiner Jugend voll politischer Ideale wie ein stattlicher Rappe aufbrach, findet sich am Ende seines Lebens auf der Flucht und mittellos wieder. Beide Gedichte über Cao Ba zeigen das menschliche, aber ebenso das dynastische Elend der Zeit. Auch der Kaiser entgeht seinem Schicksal nicht. Daß es Du Fu gelungen ist, immer wieder Pferde so voller Mitleid und so menschlich zu beschreiben, legt die Vermutung nahe, für ihn habe kein wesentlicher Unterschied zwischen diesem Haustier und einem Menschen bestanden. Betrachten wir diese Angelegenheit zunächst von den Zeitumständen her, so läßt sich die Tatsache anführen, daß es als Zeichen des Reichtums galt, wenn ein sammelwütiger Aristokrat unter die „wunderbaren Dinge“ (*youwu* 尤物) daheim möglichst viele Pferde und Konkubinen zählen konnte. Selbstverständlich war es damals Usus, für den Tausch eines guten Pferdes den Freunden seinen Harem zur freien Auswahl anzubieten.³⁹ Du Fu war nicht von dieser Art. Für ihn war ein Pferd kein Sammelobjekt, sondern das tägliche Fortbewegungsmittel eines Beamten auf dem Wege zum fernen Amtsantritt oder ins nahe Amt. Der treue Weggefährte mag nicht selten auch Gesprächspartner oder Vergleichsgegenstand gewesen sein. Und so schließen wir mit Versen, welche besagten Gegensatz von einst und jetzt, von Jugend und

³⁶ Stephen Owen, *Mi-Lou. Poetry and the Labyrinth of Desire* (Cambridge, Mass. etc.: Harvard University Press, 1989), S. 161f.

³⁷ Klöpsch, *Der seidene Faden*, S. 163-166 (kommentiert); *Du shi yinde*, I, S. 117f (VIII.8).

³⁸ Zum Verhältnis von Lyrik und Krankheit in der Tang-Zeit s. Hu Ruoshi (Florence Hu-Sterk), „Tangshi yu bing (Maladie et poésie sous les Tang)“, *Kuawenhua duihua (Dialogue Transcultural)* 18 (2006), S. 269-290.

³⁹ Xiaoshan Yang, *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere. Gardens and Objects in Tang-Song Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass., und London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), S. 160-167.

Alter, von Aspiration und Enttäuschung hinlänglich veranschaulichen mögen. In der „Weise vom Hengst des Statthalters Gao“ (*Gao duhu congma xing* 高都護驄馬行) sagt der Dichter um 749 frei nach Günter Eich (1907–1972) ganz am Schluß:⁴⁰

Von der Jugend der Hauptstadt hat niemand
Es [das Pferd] zu reiten gewagt.
In Tschang-an [Chang'an] kennt es ein jeder,
Das dem Blitz gleich vorüberjagt.

Alternd für seinen Herren
Steht es seiden gezäumt im Haus.
Kehrt es noch einmal im Leben
Den Weg zum Westtor hinaus?

⁴⁰ Zitiert nach Günter Eich, *Aus dem Chinesischen*, Bibliothek Suhrkamp 525 (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1976), S. 60. Pointierter übersetzt Erwin Ritter von Zach, *Tu Fu's Gedichte* (hg. von James Robert Hightower), 2 Bde. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), Bd. 1, S. 21. Zum Original s. *Du shi yinde*, I, S. 10f (I.13).

Negotiation and Bartering on the Frontier: Horse Trade in Song China

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INTRODUCTORY REMARK

A spate of research works, mainly in Chinese and Japanese, have been devoted to the study of the horse economy in historical China. But most of these studies are concerned with the administration of horses and the so-called tea-and-horse trade along the northwestern frontier of imperial China, and frequently they focus on the Northern Song period (960–1126), or the Song dynasty in its totality (960–1279 CE).² Questions related to the overall situation of the horse trade under the Song, especially the trade conducted across the southwestern borderlands, have rarely been dealt with. This paper will summarize the procurement of horses in the four frontier market clusters, followed by a study on the horse markets established in the peripheral lands of western and southwestern China and the role played by indigenous tribal chieftains, traders and government officials within the context of relations between the Song government and its southwestern neighbours.

CATEGORIES AND ORIGINS OF THE HORSES

A browse of classical Chinese literature and records reveals many different horse names in imperial China, which appears to be somewhat confusing at first sight. While forty-two types of horses were recorded as imports from the northern steppe empires and other polities to the Tang state (618–907),³ contemporary

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² See, for instance, Herrlee G. Creel, “The Role of the Horse in Chinese History”, in Herrlee G. Creel, *What is Taoism? And Other Studies in Chinese Cultural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 160-186; Tani Mitsutaka 谷光隆, *Mindai basei no kenkyu* 明代馬政の研究 (Studies on the Horse Administration of the Ming Dynasty) (Kyoto: Toyoshi kenkyukai, Kyoto University, 1972); Umehara Kaoru 梅原郁, “Seito no uma to Shisen no cha” 青唐の馬と四川の茶 (Horses of Qingtang and Tea of Sichuan), *Toho gakuho* 東方學報 45 (1973), pp. 195-244; Song Changlian 宋常廉, “Beisong de mazheng” 北宋的馬政, *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 25.10-12 (1973), pp. 19-22, 19-22, 24-30; Sogabe Shizuo 曾我部靜雄, “Sodai no basei” 宋代的馬政 (Horse Administration in the Song Dynasty), in his *Sodai seikeishi no kenkyu* 宋代政經史の研究 (Studies on the Political and Economic History of Song Dynasty) (Tokyo: Yoshigawa kobunkan, 1974), pp. 64-144; Wang Ningsheng 汪寧生, “Gudai Yunnan de yangma ye” 古代雲南的養馬業, *Sixiang zhanxian* 思想戰線 (3/1980), pp. 34-40; Lin Ruihan 林瑞翰, “Songdai bianjun zhi mashi ji ma degangyun” 宋代邊郡之馬市及馬的綱運, in Songshi zuotanhui 宋史座談會 (ed.), *Songshi yanjiu ji* 宋史研究集, No.11 (Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan, 1980), pp. 221-235; Feng Yonglin 馮永林, “Songdai de chama maoyi” 宋代的茶馬貿易, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究 (2/1986), pp. 41-48; Du Wenyu 杜文玉, “Songdai mazheng yanjiu” 宋代馬政研究, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* (2/1990), pp. 22-33; Paul J. Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse: Horses, Bureaucrats, and the Destruction of the Sichuan Tea Industry, 1074–1224* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1991); Tang Kaijian 湯開建, “Beisong yu xibei ge minzu de ma maoyi” 北宋與西北各民族的馬貿易, *Zhongya xuekan* 中亞學刊 (3/1992), pp. 139-163; Jiang Tianjian 江天健, *Beisong shima zhi yanjiu* 北宋市馬之研究 (Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan, 1995); Liu Fusheng 劉復生, “Songdai guangma yiji xiangguan wenti” 宋代廣馬以及相關問題, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* (3/1995), pp. 85-93; Wei Mingkong 魏明孔, *Xibei minzu maoyi yanjiu: yi chama hushi wei zhongxin* 西北民族貿易研究: 以茶馬互市為中心 (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2003); Wang Xiaoyan 王曉燕, *Guanying chama maoyi yanjiu* 官營茶馬貿易研究 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2004).

³ The forty-two types of horses were Quriqan horse 骨利幹馬, Ximi horse 悉密馬, Karluk horse 葛邏祿馬, Zhangyigu horse 杖曳固馬, Tongluo horse 同羅馬, Sir-tardush horse 延陀馬, Pugu horse 僕骨馬, A-die horse 阿跌馬, Qi horse 契馬, Samarkand horse 康國馬, Turkish horse 突厥馬, Dailinzhoulufu horse 隴州隴利羽馬, Uighur horse 迴紇馬, Juluole horse 俱羅勒馬, Biyu horse 苾羽馬, Yumohun horse 餘沒渾馬, Chi horse 赤馬, A-shi-de horse 阿史德馬, Enjie horse 恩結馬, Fuliye horse 匐利羽馬, Qibi horse 契苾馬, Xijie horse 奚結馬, Huxue horse 斛薛馬, Nula horse 奴刺馬, Sunong horse 蘇農馬, Da-a-shi-de

zoologists tend to broadly classify different types of horses in ancient China into two major categories, that is, a “purely Chinese” species and a hybridised species,⁴ or further subdivide them into seven groups in accordance with their breeding origins, including the Mongolian horse 蒙古馬 (ranging from China’s northeastern provinces to eastern Xinjiang), the Hequ horse 河曲馬 (in the border area between Gansu, Qinghai and Sichuan), the southwestern horse 西南馬 (Yunnan, Guizhou and Sichuan), the Sanhe horse 三河馬 (Inner Mongolian steppes, Northeast China), the Yili horse 伊犁馬 (Yili grasslands of Xinjiang), the Qarasahr horse 焉耆馬 (Tianshan 天山 Mountains, grasslands of Xinjiang), as well as the Chakouyi horse 岔口驛馬 (Hexi Corridor 河西走廊 of Gansu).⁵

Zoological categorisations certainly shed light on the overall distribution of horses in imperial China. A closer look at geographical works is equally helpful because it immediately becomes evident from these sources that China had to procure most of its horses from the four frontier regions in the north, northwest, west and southwest, particularly from the steppes of Serindia, Transoxania, Mongolia, the grasslands of Northeast Asia and the mountainous Southwest.

The simple classification into two major types – with regard to the function and species of horses – can also be applied to the Song period. While horses produced in the northern regions were generally large in size and suitable for long rides, those bred in the mountainous Southwest were small and short and could not be used in speedy military operations. Consequently, the former were called *zhanma* 戰馬 (war horses) or *Xima* 西馬 (horses produced in Serindia or the Western Region 西域), whilst the latter were habitually addressed as *jimima* 羈縻馬 (haltered-and-bridled horses) or *Xi’nanma* 西南馬 (horses bred in the southwest) because the main aim for the Song government to barter horses with the hill tribes in those remote regions was to *jimi* 羈縻 or “bridle” and loosely control them.⁶ Apart from these two types of horses, certain other species should be mentioned as well, such as the Khitan horses, the Jurchen horses and the Tartar horses. These were normally war horses imported from the northeastern nomadic empires. Among the locally bred horses were (1) the *Huaima* 淮馬 from the area of modern Shandong, Anhui, Hubei, Hunan and part of Henan, (2) the *Chuanma* 川馬 or *Shuma* 蜀馬 from Sichuan, (3) the *Shuangshuima* 瀧水馬 from Lingnan 嶺南 (i.e., modern Guangdong and Guangxi), (4) and the *Zhouyuma* 洲嶼馬 from central coastal Fujian 福建. However, none of these four could be employed by the Song cavalry, as they were generally too small in size. As a result they were purchased mainly for the local militia and transportation services.⁷

MARKETS

Several major horse markets were established under the Song. Their development was closely related to the changing geopolitical situation faced by the Song state. The growth of Song power was accompanied by the rise of three northern / northwestern empires – the Khitan Liao 契丹遼 (907–1125), the Tangut Xi Xia 黨項

horse 闐阿史德馬, Bayan-a-shi-de horse 拔延阿史德馬, Re horse 熱馬, Shelizha horse 舍利叱利馬, A-shi-na horse 阿史那馬, Geluoziya horse 葛羅枝牙馬, Chuo horse 綽馬, Helu horse 賀魯馬, A-yan horse 阿艷馬, Kangheli horse 康曷利馬, Anmulu-zhen horse 安慕路真馬, Anshehe horse 安賒和馬, Shatuo horse 沙陀馬, Chubishan horse 處苾山馬, Hun horse 渾馬, Khitan horse 契丹馬, and Xi horse 奚馬. For the details, see Wang Pu 王溥, *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1960), j. 72, pp. 1305–1308.

⁴ Yoshida Shinshichiro 吉田新七郎, *Shina ni okeru kachiku no kenkyu* 支那ニ於ケル家畜ノ研究 (Tokyo: Nippon sanbou honbu, 1926), pp. 1–2, 13–17.

⁵ Xie Chengxia 謝成俠, *Zhongguo yangma shi* 中國養馬史 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1959), pp. 272–279.

⁶ Li Xinchuan 李心傳, *Jiannan yilai chaoye zaji* 建炎以來朝野雜錄, Guoxue jiben congshu (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), j. 18, pp. 278–279.

⁷ Zhou Qufei 周去非 (author), Yang Wuquan 楊武泉 (ed.), *Lingwai daida jiaozhu* 嶺外代答校注 (originally 1178), Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), j. 9, p. 351; German translation by Almut Netolitzky, *Das Ling-wai tai-ta von Chou Ch’ü-fei. Eine Landeskunde Südchinas aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*, Münchener Ostasiatische Studien 21 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977); Chao Shuizhi 晁說之, *Songshan wenji* 嵩山文集, Sibei congkan guangbian (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan 1981), j. 3, p. 47; Li Xinchuan, *Jiannan yilai chaoye zaji*, j. 18, pp. 278–279; Xu Song 徐松 (comp.), *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿, 8 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), VIII, ce 184, “bing 24”, 3a–3b. The original description in *Lingwai daida* reads “格尺短小, 不堪行陣”.

西夏 (c. 990–1227), and the Jurchen Jin 女真金 (1115–1234) states – as well as the emergence of smaller nomadic polities originating from the Tibetan 吐蕃, Turkish 突厥 and Uighur 回鶻 empires that had existed during the Tang period (618–907). These steppe polities were quite powerful in terms of their cavalry, and each occupied a large section of the northern grasslands and / or China's agricultural terrain, which was often perceived as a threat by the Song authorities.

To strengthen its defence against the nomadic warriors of Inner Asia and the north, the Song established a system of “relay depots” (mayi 馬驛), encouraged tribute trade, and promoted the purchase of horses through government officials and the local populace near the border regions. This was very necessary because, as had been noted, within China herself, horses were available only in a few “pocket areas”, including parts of Huainan 淮南, Fujian, and the aboriginal territories of Hunan and Lingnan; furthermore, the horses originating from these regions were usually too small and fragile to be ridden by armoured soldiers.

Generally, the territory inherited by the Song empire was small in comparison to that governed by the Tang. Prior to its foundation in 960 CE, the major pastures in the north had already been occupied by the semi-nomadic Khitan, originally a branch of the Eastern Mongols, who had risen to power in the early tenth century. After the foundation of the Liao dynasty, the Khitan had expanded their territory into both southern Manchuria and northern China. With the “sixteen prefectures south of the Great Wall” 燕雲十六州 being ceded to them by Shi Jingtang 石敬瑭 in 936 CE, a vast expanse of grasslands where excellent war horses could be bred – that also included the area of modern Beijing – had been added to the Liao state under which control it remained for several hundred years. Moreover, in later periods the Liao forbade its own people from selling horses to the Song.

Representing the political zenith of the nomad way of life, steppe empires such as the Liao and Xi Xia states not only enjoyed abundant supplies of horses for their own military, but were also able to deny the Song access to Asia's most productive pastures and foreign horse supplies. Such a geopolitical landscape in a multi-state Asian system trapped the Song state in an ever tighter dilemma that consequently forced the Chinese side to buy horses from wherever possible. The four frontier regions mentioned above became the major sources for the Song to meet these demands.

Northern Markets

The northern markets consisted of several horse bazaars scattered from Korea to modern Shanxi and Hebei. Unlike the other three procurement regions, the northern trade points were mainly booming in the late tenth century when the Khitan and Jurchen tribes maintained a normal trade relationship with the Northern Song state. Each year a large number of horses were brought south from the Khitan controlled grasslands, which in turn gave birth to a number of horse bazaars established within the boundary of today's Hebei, such as Tianxiongjun 天雄軍 (Daming County 大名縣), Zhendingfu 真定府 (Shijiazhuang 石家莊 and Zhengding County 正定縣), Dingzhou 定州 (Ding County 定縣), Cangzhou 滄州 (Cang County 滄縣), Yingzhou 瀛州 (Baoding 保定市) and Beizhou 貝州 (Nangong 南宮市).

One interesting facet of the northern scenario concerns the long-distance trade in horses initiated and conducted by the Jurchen. This trade involved the shipment of animals across the sea. Originally, the Jurchen comprised various tribes and their nomadic activities largely concentrated in the area of the lower Black River 黑水 Valley (the modern Heilong River 黑龍江) and the Hamhyng Plain 咸興平原 on the Korean Peninsula. Their horse trading relations with imperial China can be dated back to the early eighth century when the *Heishui mohe* 黑水靺鞨, the ancestors of the Jurchen, were still under Tang rule. One year after Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤 had established the Song state in 960 CE, an envoy named *Wen-tu-la-zhu* 溫突剌朱 led a sizeable mission from the *Heishui sanshibu* 黑水三十部 or “Thirty Tribes of the Black River”, whose domain was in the Hamhyng Plain and the Changbai Mountain 長白山 region, to Shandong. This mission

took the sea route to Dengzhou 登州 (modern Penglai 蓬萊), offering a large number of fine horses (*mingma* 名馬) as tribute.⁸

Of all the different routes employed by the Song to obtain horses, this was the only one to involve a maritime segment. Horse-carrying ships would sail along the Liao River 遼河 first and then across the Korea Sea and the Bohai Gulf 渤海灣 to reach the roadstead of Dengzhou on the northern coast of Jiaodong Peninsula 膠東半島. The *Heishui sanshibu* Jurchens were very venturesome in that respect and probably belonged to the confederation of Changbaishan Jurchen 長白山女真 and Yalujiang Jurchen 鴨綠江女真.⁹ Aside from horses which were the staple cargo, the commodities they used to barter with the Song included hides of marten, tiger and bear, cloth, different kinds of seafood and other marine products, gold, pearls, eagles (*Donghai qing hu/gu* 海東青鵠), arrows, as well as forest herbs and products such as ginseng, tuckahoe, pine nuts and amber. In return for these local products, they carried back from Song China a variety of goods including silk, porcelain, lacquer, Buddhist images, sutras, Confucian texts and calendars.¹⁰ What needs to be noted is that the Jurchen horse trade was conducted in the name of tribute trade as recorded in the Song records though the Jurchen merchants probably would not agree with the vainglorious perspective of the Middle Kingdom. In any case, the maritime horse trade monopolised by the Jurchen was very large in scale, and each year no less than 10,000 horses were shipped into Song China as mentioned in a memorial by Zhang Qixian 張齊賢.¹¹

To facilitate this trade, the Song emperor issued an edict in 963 CE, ordering the residents of Shamen Island 沙門島, near the Dengzhou horse market, to be exempted from paying annual taxes and duties. Instead, they had to prepare more junks and help Jurchen merchants transfer and unload their horses.¹² The peaceful horse trade enjoyed by the Song state, nevertheless, did not last very long. In 979 CE, the Song annexed the Northern Han kingdom 北漢王國, which led to direct confrontation between Song China and Khitan Liao. One of the key measures taken by the Khitan ruler to reduce the military strength of the Song was to stop Jurchen horse supplies to the Song state. In the spring of 991 CE, the Khitan even set up three fortresses at the estuary of the Yalu River 鴨綠江 and deployed 3,000 troops there to implement the prohibitions against this trade. The maritime route previously utilised by Jurchen tribes was thus blocked by Khitan forces.¹³ It was opened again for a short period after the Song court had signed the humiliating truce agreement of Shanyuan 澶淵 with the Liao in 1005 CE. Basically, however, the procurement of horses from the Jurchen via the maritime route was now halted and only a small number of Jurchen horses could indirectly reach Song China, usually in the form of "attachments" to Korean tribute missions.

It is highly likely that the Song state deliberated on the possibilities of obtaining further Jurchen horses with Korean assistance, because much later, in 1082 CE, the Song emperor Shenjong 神宗 instructed the Korean king to pass on a message to the Jurchen hoping to resume that trade. The Korean side was also asked to provide Jurchen merchants with various conveniences, including allowing them to reroute Jurchen horses via Korea's territories. The sincere and urgent appeal from the Song court, however, came up with nothing as there was no response from the Jurchen side anymore.¹⁴ In all, the maritime horse trade of the late tenth century had thus only lasted for less than thirty years. From that time onwards, Jurchen horses were bartered at the Dengzhou market on and off until the 1020s (when the sea route was completely sealed off).

⁸ Li Tao 李濤, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編, 5 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), I, j. 2, 13b; Xu Song, *Songhuiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 196, "fanyi 3", 1a-1b.

⁹ For studies on the history of Jurchen tribes, see Sun Jinji 孫進己 et al., *Nuzhen shi* 女真史 (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 1987); Herbert Franke and Chan Hok-lam 陳學霖 (eds.), *Studies on the Jurchens and the Chin Dynasty* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 1997); He Guangyue 何光岳, *Nuzhen yuanliu shi* 女真源流史 (Nanchang: Jiangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 2004).

¹⁰ Ye Longli 葉隆禮, *Qidanguo zhi* 契丹國志 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), j. 22, pp. 212-214.

¹¹ Li Tao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, j. 51, 14a; Xu Song, *Songhuiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 183, "bing 23", 9b-10a; Xu Mengxin 徐夢莘, *Sanchao beimeng huibian* 三朝北盟會編, 4 vols. (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1962; originally 1878), I, j. 3, 8a.

¹² Li Tao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, j. 4, 20a.

¹³ Ibid., j. 32, 6b; Xu Song, *Songhuiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 196, "fanyi 1", 2a-2b; Tuotuo 脫脫 et al. (comp.), *Liao shi* 遼史, 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), I, j. 13, p. 141.

¹⁴ Xu Mengxin, *Sanchao beimeng huibian*, j. 3, 16b.

During this period the Jurchen had no way out but by affiliating themselves to Korean tribute missions hoping to generate limited profits from selling horses to the Song.

Procuring warhorses from the Jurchen, however, was never the sole objective of the Song. On the contrary, the Song court pursued a dual-goal policy while dealing with the Jin regime. In this sense the horse trade was usually coupled with the political aim of forming a strategic alliance against the Liao. Thus, from 979 CE to 1117 CE, the Song court dispatched several special envoys to the Jurchen, nominally to obtain horses, while the real aim was to join forces and eliminate the Liao state.¹⁵

The Korean kingdom also offered horses to Song China. The volume of this trade, however, should not be overestimated, because Korean tribute missions were frequently interrupted by the Khitan Liao. In addition, Korean horses were usually small and the number of horses carried by each tribute mission was far from being significant as compared to the quantities offered by the Jurchen. The largest tribute mission from the Korean Peninsula, for example, only brought twenty-two stunted horses – certainly to the great disappointment of Song officials in charge of the cavalry.¹⁶ What is interesting to note is that with the increasing pressure from the Khitan Liao, the Korean tribute missions, for a brief period at least, were also forced to sail to Mingzhou 明州 (modern Ningbo 寧波) in Zhejiang, instead of going to Dengzhou. The route to Zhejiang was much longer and involved higher risks which, in part, may explain the small number of Korean horses then sent to China.¹⁷

Northwestern Markets

The northwestern markets included horse bazaars in today's Gansu, Shaanxi, Qinghai, Ningxia and parts of Shanxi. These markets constituted a major source for the Song cavalry, especially during the Northern Song period. In early Song times, a total of thirty-three horse procuring offices was set up in the Middle Kingdom, of which twenty-seven were specialized in obtaining horses from the northwest.¹⁸ During the eleventh century, around 64 percent of all horses were imported through that area.¹⁹ By the early twelfth century almost all horse imports came from there – with the exception of occasional purchases from the southwestern border regions. This is why Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254–1323) remarks in his *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 that the “state horse” 國馬 sector, towards the end of Northern Song rule, had completely relied on the northwestern markets established in the Tibetan tribal area of southern Gansu.²⁰

One reason for the quick rise of the northwestern horse markets was the decline of the Jurchen horse trade in the northeast. But the principal factor for this shift lies in the bilateral relations between Song China and its northwestern neighbours – especially the Tibetans, Uighurs and Tanguts. While the Song state urgently needed cavalry mounts to be purchased from the high grasslands, particularly the rich valleys of the Yellow River tributaries east of Lake Koko Nor (Lake Qinghai), the nomadic tribes desired China's agricultural and manufactured goods, especially tea, metalware and textiles for their daily lives. Moreover, the similarity of their pastoral economies prevented them from forging an efficient alliance against the Song, because China constituted the only source for agricultural and manufactured goods.²¹ Thus, in some sense, China and its

¹⁵ Tuotuo 脫脫 et al. (comp.), *Song shi* 宋史, 20 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), XX, j. 491, pp. 14128–14129.

¹⁶ Chen Shou 陳壽, *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), III, “Weishu” 魏書, j. 30, p. 849; Jeong In Ji 鄭麟趾 (comp.), *Ko-ryo sa* 高麗史 (c. 1449; Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1972), j. 4, “Xianzong 1”, p. 57; j. 9, “Wenzong 3”, pp. 132–134, 136–137; Tao Jinsheng 陶晉生, *Song Liao guanxishi yanjiu* 宋遼關係史研究 (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshiye gongsi, 1984), pp. 178–179.

¹⁷ Tuotuo, *Song shi*, XX, j. 487, p. 14046.

¹⁸ Li Tao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, j. 104, 20b–21a.

¹⁹ Ibid., j. 43, 14a.

²⁰ Ma Duanlin 馬端臨, *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, 2 vols. (1322; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), I, j. 160, “bingkao 12: mazheng”, p. 1392. The original text is “自是國馬專仰市於熙河、秦鳳矣”.

²¹ Tang Kaijian elaborates this point; see his “Song-Jin shiqi Anduo tubo buluo yu zhongyuan diqu de ma maoyi” 宋金時期安多吐蕃部落與中原地區的馬貿易, in his *Song Jin shiqi Anduo tubo buluoshi yanjiu* 宋金時期安多吐蕃部落史研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), pp. 350–386.

pastoral neighbours depended on each other economically, which in turn set the frame for the growth of the northwestern horse bazaars.

In the course of time three different trade patterns emerged in the northwest, largely following the preferences of China's major trade partners. The Tibetans, for instance, preferred bartering at the horse bazaars near the frontier. The Uighurs chose to send horses to the Song capital in the name of tribute trade. Tangut merchants favoured private transactions over official trade controlled by the Song court.

Initially, the total volume of this trade was quite limited, amounting to less than 5,000 animals annually (prior to 995 CE).²² This was only half of the volume recorded for imports from the Jurchen. While the size of the latter can be advanced as one of the main causes for the "slow start" in the northwest, competition from private Song merchants and wealthy members of the gentry should be taken into account as well. There are records of local officials and wealthy merchants offering gold and silk in exchange for good war horses at different border markets.²³ Evidently, a growing number of war horses changed hands in this way – to the great disadvantage of the Song government, which could not obtain enough mounts for its cavalry.

However, with the introduction of the so-called *gangma* System 綱馬制, large numbers of horses were procured in the second half of the century, and more than 34,900 horses were bought in 1026 CE, which implied a rapid progress as compared with the situation of the late tenth century. Since the horse trade quota assigned to each market was relatively fixed, the annual expense for horse procurement could also be regulated. Each year, for instance, the Song court would as a rule allocate 100,000 taels of silver to buy horses at the Qinzhou 秦州 (modern Tianshui County 天水縣 of Gansu) horse market.²⁴

For a long period Qinzhou was ranked first among the northwestern horse markets. Its unique position can be understood from the following example. From 1060 to 1063, 17,100 horses were acquired from the three bazaars in Yuanzhou 原州 (Zhenyuan County 鎮原縣 of Gansu), Weizhou 渭州 (Pingliang County 平涼縣 of Gansu) and Deshunjun 德順軍 (Jingning County 靜寧縣 of Gansu), while Qinzhou alone contributed more than 15,000 horses annually.²⁵ Probably for this reason, so-called *Qinma* 秦馬, or horses purchased from Qinzhou, became one of the most well-known quality brands in Song China. But Qinzhou's reputation as the leading horse mart did not last for ever. In 1072 CE, Song troops launched a large-scale assault on the Tibetan tribes in the area of modern southwest Gansu. This "Expedition to the regions of Xi and He" (*Xihe zhiyi* 熙河之役), as it is called in Song texts, led to the acquisition of six regions including Xizhou 熙州 (Lintao County 臨洮縣), Hezhou 河州 (Daohe County 導河縣), Taozhou 洮州 (Lintan County 臨潭縣), Minzhou 岷州 (Min County 岷縣), Diezhou 疊州 (Diebu County 疊部縣) and Dangchangzhai 宕昌寨 (Dangchang County 宕昌縣) together with an extensive expanse of pasturelands. Immediately a new administrative district named Xihelu 熙河路 or Xihe Circuit was established to strengthen the frontier management and the procurement of horses. With the inauguration of four new horse markets in the newly annexed region in 1076 CE, the centre of horse trading under the Northern Song gradually shifted from Qinzhou to the Xihe region.²⁶

It would be misleading to believe that the so-called Horse Procurement Offices 買馬司 or 市馬務 established by the Song government only dealt with the horse trade. Apart from horses, commodities imported from the northwestern tribesmen included a wide array of native goods such as camels, cattle, sheep, yaks, furs of martens and desert foxes, different kinds of textiles from Inner Asia, jade, amber, pearl, glass, ivory, musk, bezoar stones, asafoetida, wrought iron swords, armour, arrows, Buddhist relics and images, etc. It is worth noting that large quantities of aromatic substances and products originating from the tropics – for example frankincense, patchouli, benzoin and coral – were also brought to these same markets and traded together with horses. Unfortunately, Song documents remain silent about the precise origin of these exotic commodities. Very likely they came from the Middle East, Africa or even the Mediterranean – via Central

²² Li Tao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, j. 43, 14a.

²³ Anonymous, *Song da zhaolin ji* 宋大詔令集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), j. 181, edict "Jin furen shi neishu rongrenma zhao 禁富人市內屬戎人馬詔", p. 655.

²⁴ Tuotuo et al., *Song shi*, XX, j. 198, pp. 4927-4957.

²⁵ Ibid., and Li Tao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, j. 218, 18b.

²⁶ Ibid., j. 272, 14b.

Asia – through the intermediaries of different ports and countries. Another interesting aspect concerns the import of sheep. At times the number of sheep acquired exceeded the number of imported horses, though the primary concern of the northwestern frontier markets was the latter. In 1046 CE, for example, the Song court instructed the northwestern markets to each buy 2,000 horses and 10,000 sheep annually.²⁷ The real reason behind this administrative order, however, remains unknown.

Western Markets

The Song frontier in the west was in mountainous Sichuan. During the Song dynasty, Sichuan was the second major import region for horses. Fifteen horse procurement markets were established respectively during different periods in the region; meanwhile an official institution named *Sichuan maimasi* 四川買馬司 (Sichuan Horse Purchasing Department) was set up to supervise these markets, which were generally located on the fringe of pastoral Tibetan tribes.²⁸ Yet the horses procured in Sichuan were generally too small and fragile to be ridden by armoured soldiers. Consequently, *Chuanma* 川馬 or horses produced in Sichuan were a complementary supply whenever there was a scarcity of northwestern war horses in the marketplaces. A special name – *jimima* 羈縻馬 – was thus given to the Sichuan horses in the Song period, as mentioned above.

The Song government distributed procured horses in accordance with their quality. Normally strong war horses purchased from the northwestern markets together with the first class of Sichuan horses would be sent to equip the Song cavalry; the second and third classes of Sichuan horses would be assigned to local troops stationed in Shaanxi or simply given to the national relay depots for local transportation, while the remaining unqualified horses were allowed to be sold freely in local markets.²⁹

Of the fifteen western markets listed above, Lizhou ranked first and each year more than 4,000 horses would be provided by this market alone.³⁰ Similar to Qinzhou, Lizhou was an old installation. Its rise can be traced back to the early Song period and its role was closely related to changes in the northwest.³¹ In 1074 CE, for instance, suddenly no horses could be obtained in the latter region due to military campaigns. The Song court then urgently requested the local government in Sichuan to induce tribal groups such as *Qiongbuchuan man* 邛部川蠻 (Qiongbu River Barbarian), a branch of the Yi 彝, located in the border area between Tibet, Southwest Sichuan and Yunnan, to bring good quality war horses for trading, and appointed Viceroy Cai Yanqing 知府蔡延慶 to look after this trade.³²

Generally, however, Sichuan horses did not receive much attention until 1086 CE, when it was decided to assign them to local troops in Shaanxi while sending fine war horses procured from different Shaanxi

²⁷ Ibid., j. 159, 14b.

²⁸ The fifteen horse markets included Lizhou 黎州 (modern Hanyuan County 漢源縣 of Sichuan), Xuzhou 敘州 (northeast of Yibin County 宜賓縣), Zhenzhou 珍州 (northeast of Zheng'an County 正安縣), Yizhou 益州 (Chengdu 成都市), Wenzhou 文州 (modern Wen County 文縣 of Gansu), Yazhou 雅州 (Ya'an County 雅安縣), Maozhou 茂州 (Mao County 茂縣), Kuizhou 夔州 (Fengjie County 奉節縣), Weizhou 威州 (Wenchuan County 汶川縣), Luzhou 瀘州 (Lu County 瀘縣), Longzhou 龍州 (Jiangyou County 江油縣), Jiazhou 嘉州 (Leshan County 樂山縣), Changningjun 長寧軍 (Gong County 珙縣), Nanpingjun 南平軍 (Qijiang County 綦江縣), and Yongkangjun 永康軍 (Guan County 灌縣). See Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 184, “bing 24”, fol. 2b-24a. Of these horse markets, Wenzhou market belonged to the *Sichuan maimasi* 四川買馬司 originally, but shortly afterwards it was shifted to the *Qinzhou maimasi* 秦州買馬司 due to the fact that the horses purchased at Wenzhou market were much better quality than their counterparts in Sichuan. See Li Xinchuan, *Jiannan yilai chaoye zaji*, j. 18, pp. 278-279.

²⁹ Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 184, “bing 24”, 17a; Du Dagui 杜大珪, *Mingchen beizhuan wanyanji* 名臣碑傳琬琰集 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1969), j. 32, p. 867 (“Zhao daizhi Kai muzhiming” 趙待制開墓志銘). Daizhi 待制 was an official title in the Song dynasty while the official's name was Zhao Kai.

³⁰ Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, IV, ce 84, “zhiguan 43”, 79a-82b.

³¹ Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 184, “bing 24”, 4b.

³² Tuotuo et al., *Song shi*, XX, j. 198, p. 4950; Li Tao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, j. 259, 7a-7b. For comprehensive studies on the Yi ethnic group in imperial southwestern China, see Ling Chunsheng 凌純聲, “Tangdai Yunnan de Wuman yu Baiman kao” 唐代雲南的烏蠻與白蠻考, *Guoli zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo renleixue jikan* 國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所人類學集刊 1.1 (1938), pp. 57-86; Hu Qingjun 胡慶鈞, “Songdai Yizu xianmin diqu nuli zhidu de fanrong fazhan” 宋代彝族先民地區奴隸制度的繁榮發展, *Sixiang zhanxian* (4/1980), pp. 58-67.

markets to the Song capital for distribution among the national cavalry. Since then, Lizhou gradually emerged as an alternative procurement centre with at least some quality horses purchased from the Tibetan tribes. More than 5,280 horses were obtained at Lizhou market in 1099 CE, for instance, and the record for the following year was 4,100 heads, a telling evidence to demonstrate the booming horse trade in the region.³³

Put differently, Lizhou's sudden rise as a horse centre in the 1070s was to a large extent due to the military expeditions in the northwest that had led to a temporary interruption of supplies from that area, which in turn had forced the Song government to seek alternative supply sources from its frontiers in the west and southwest. Furthermore, the status of Lizhou in China's horse procurement strategies had become increasingly enhanced with the Song dynasty being forced in 1138 CE to move its political centre to the South and the new capital was established in Lin'an 臨安 (modern Hangzhou 杭州). The Southern Song, driven south of the Huai River 淮河, was even more tightly confined in terms of territory and had thus to rely considerably on Lizhou to obtain the horses it urgently needed. The Sichuan horses, on the other hand, were generally small and fragile, as noted above, and could rarely meet the requirement of the Song cavalry. This paved the way for the rise of the southwestern horses, or the so-called *Guangma* 廣馬, in the course of the twelfth century.

Southwestern Markets

The southwestern horse markets were concerned with the borderlands near the Yunnan and Guizhou plateau and the southern part of Guangxi. Since the Khitan and Tangut states had always been the main concern of the Song, the imperial government did not have extra energy and time to manage its southwestern frontier. Instead of deploying elite troops along the southwestern border, it tried very hard to maintain a peaceful relationship with its non-Chinese tribal neighbours through the *jimi* 羈縻 (halter-and-bridled) *modus operandi*. A policy of "*Lingnan busu zhongbing* 嶺南不宿重兵" (no huge forces should be deployed in Lingnan) was adopted and followed by all successive Song emperors.³⁴ But this lax attitude repeatedly invited tribal groups to plunder the borderlands from 1038 CE. The riot headed by an indigenous chieftain named Nùng Trí-Cao 儂智高 from Quàng-uyên 廣源 in modern northern Vietnam in 1052 was particularly serious and felt like a deep shock because Nùng's forces sacked more than nine southern cities and towns within a few months. Even Guangzhou (Canton) was ransacked.³⁵ The Nùng Trí-Cao Riot and its subsequent suppression by the Song cavalry not only introduced mounted combat skills into mainland Southeast Asia, but also made it clear that good quality war horses could be obtained from that region.³⁶

Shortly after the demise of the Nùng Trí-Cao Riot, in 1077 CE, the chieftain of Guangxi's Hengshan Stockade 橫山寨 was commissioned by the Song court to purchase war horses, and an official from the Guangxi Military Commission 廣西帥司 was also stationed in Yongzhou 邕州 (Nanning 南寧 of Guangxi)

³³ Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, IV, ce 84, "zhiguan 43", 79a-82b.

³⁴ Yu Jing 余靖, *Wuxi ji* 武溪集, Siku zhenben edition, 2 vols. (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1976), I, j. 5, "Dasong pingman bei" 大宋平蠻碑, 1b.

³⁵ The Nùng was one of the influential families among the tribes of Quàng-uyên, a frontier region east of Cao-băng 高平 and bordering China's Guangxi. During the Song period, Quàng-uyên nominally belonged to Song China but the region was controlled by the Ly dynasty of Đại Việt. The territories dominated by the Nùng family had repeatedly been assaulted by Viet forces, and Nùng Trí-Cao hated the Viet very much. He then sent two missions to the Song state, requesting his territories be incorporated into Song China. Being afraid this might cause a major conflict with Dai Viet, the Song government turned down Nùng's request, which in turn led to the Nùng Trí-Cao Riot which lasted almost twelve months before it was put down by the Song cavalry. For the details of this riot, see Tuotuo et al., *Song shi*, XX, j. 495, p. 14214; Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 198, "fanyi 5", 61a-65a. While few Western historians have mentioned this episode, at least one Japanese historian has devoted several pages to it. See Kawahara Masahiro 河原正博, "Richao to Sou to no kankei (1009-1225)" 李朝と宋との關係 (1009-1225 年) (Relations between the Ly Dynasty and the Song (1009-1225)", in Yamamoto Tatsuro 山本達郎 (ed.), *Betonamu chugoku kankeishi: kyoushi no taitou kara shinnbutsu sennsou made* ベトナム中國關係史: かう清仏戦争まで (History of International Relations between Vietnam and China: From the Rise of Khúc Family to the Sino-French War) (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1975), pp. 29-82.

³⁶ Sima Guang 司馬光, *Sushui jiwen* 涑水紀聞, Hanfenlou ed., j. 13, 1a-8b.

to oversee the horse procurement from the southwestern frontier. The real concern with and strong interest in southwestern horses, however, did not emerge until the early twelfth century when the Southern Song government was chased by the Jurchen Jin cavalry and keenly felt the twinge caused by the lack of war-horses.³⁷ In 1127 CE, a local Yongzhou official named Li Yu 李杲, who was familiar with the southwestern tribes, was appointed by the Song government to administer the southwestern horse markets. Shortly afterwards, Li Yu recruited a group of local horse traders headed by Dong Wen 董文 and sent them to negotiate with the Dali kingdom 大理國 of Yunnan in 1130 CE. With lavish gifts such as salt and damask, brocades and other silks, the horse procurement working group successfully persuaded the King of Dali to grant his permission for Dali horses to be sold to Song China. 1,000 war horses from Dali were thus prepared to be traded with the Song state. In the following year, the King of Dali sent one of his ministers, Zhang Luoxian 張羅賢, along with a sample of fifty war horses, to Li Yu.³⁸ According to the agreement reached earlier, if the Yongzhou authorities were satisfied with the sample horses, the remaining 950 heads would be delivered shortly to the Hengshan Stockade. Yet, to the surprise of Dali officials, Li Yu had suddenly been sacked by the Song court before their arrival due to an internal conflict between him and the Guangxi Military Commissioner, Xu Zhong 廣西帥臣許中. The Dali mission, as a result, cancelled the horse deal and returned to Yunnan, and the Song government only purchased fifty sample horses.³⁹ Given that personal trust and connections were crucial in traditional China when conducting business, it was highly likely that Li Yu's dismissal made the Dali tribal officials unhappy because they lost a trustworthy person to deal with, which in turn caused the abortion of the first official endeavour of Song China to obtain Dali warhorses.

The Song authorities did not give up their efforts, and in 1133 CE, an official Horse Purchasing Department (*Maimasi*) was installed in Yongzhou. In the meantime, military commanders stationed in four frontier towns, namely Binzhou 賓州 (modern Binyang County 賓陽縣 of Guangxi), Hengzhou 橫州 (Heng County 橫縣 of Guangxi), Yizhou 宜州 (Yishan County 宜山縣 of Guangxi) and Guangzhou 觀州 (Nandan County 南丹縣 of Guangxi), were also instructed to purchase as many war horses as possible.⁴⁰ But such an ad hoc arrangement did not last for long as the Southern Song government would not trust any tribes beyond its frontier, and border defence and security were always given priority when discussing the frontier trade.

Yizhou and its subordinate Nandanzhou 南丹州 are cases in point. In terms of traffic and distance, they were more easily accessed than Yongzhou. Therefore, several local senior officials had already suggested establishing a horse market in Nandanzhou, yet in 1174 CE the throne decided to shut down the horse bazaar at Yizhou on the grounds that this site would be too close to the administrative centre and thus endanger the "frontier security".⁴¹ Consequently, only one heavily guarded mart – the Hengshan Stockade Market 橫山寨博易場 – was allowed to continue and remained open to tribal merchants for bartering horses along the southwestern frontier throughout the 153 years of the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279).

In the meantime, two other markets were set up in the neighbouring regions but targeting traders from Cochin China (modern northern Vietnam), and not from the tribal regions of the southwest. While the Qinzhou Market 欽州博易場 was established at Jiangdongyi 江東驛 outside the town wall, the Yongzhou Yongping Stockade Market 邕州永平寨博易場 was along the border with Cochin China demarcated by a small stream. Three categories of Cochin merchants and peddlers frequenting the southwestern frontier markets can be discerned from contemporary Chinese records. The first category comprised small peddlers and fishermen who sailed to Qinzhou everyday, bartering small amounts of rice and cotton textiles for their fish and mussels; these traders were called *Jiaozhi dan* 交趾蠻, or Cochin boat dwellers, by the Chinese. The second category refers to the well-to-do merchants from Vĩnh An Châu 永安州 (modern Hải Ninh Huyện 海

³⁷ Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, j. 5, p. 186.

³⁸ The Dali official's name is transcribed differently in *Song huiyao* 宋會要 and recorded as "*fangan* Zhang Luojian 蕃官張羅堅" (barbarian official Zhang Luojian). The Chinese characters 賢 and 堅 are similar and that might be the reason for their co-existence in this case, though nobody knows which character is correct. See Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 183, "bing 23", 18b.

³⁹ Li Xinchuan 李心傳, *Jiannan yilai xianian yaolu* 建炎以來繫年要錄, Guoxue jiben congshu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), j. 33, p. 653; Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 183, "bing 22", 17b-18a.

⁴⁰ Ibid., VIII, ce 183, "bing 22", 19b-20a.

⁴¹ Ibid., VIII, ce 183, 7a, 10a, 12a.

寧縣 in Vietnam); these wealthy private Cochin merchants were called *xiaogang* 小綱 as normally their scale of business was relatively small compared to the government trade missions, though they would habitually send a formal notice to the Qinzhou Market authorities prior to their departure for Song China. The third category involved official trade missions from the Ly dynasty of Đại Việt and these official-cum-merchants were labelled *dagang* 大綱 due to their official status and economic clout. Correspondingly, there were peddlers and wealthy merchants of the Song state bartering with their Cochin Chinese counterparts in the market. The commodities imported from Cochin China were mainly tropical products such as incense, various spices, pearls, ivory, rhinoceros horn, etc. Gold, silver, copper coins, and crude salt were also used in trade. Ordinary Chinese peddlers offered locally produced cloth, rice, paper and brush pens; the rich Chinese merchants transacted the well-known Sichuan brocades for different Southeast Asian spices at the markets.⁴² Together these two frontier markets played a supplementary role in cross-border exchanges though their role was not directly related to the horse procurement of Song China.

THE HENGSHAN STOCKADE MARKET AND SOUTHWESTERN HORSE TRADE

The Hengshan Stockade Market was located 520 *li* 里 northwest of Yongzhou, and was the only thoroughfare and strategic point connecting Southwest China with Yunnan and the Pagan kingdom 蒲甘王國 of Myanmar in accordance with contemporary Chinese records such as *Lingwai daida* and *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典.⁴³ Here it should also be pointed out that the term *Guangma* (horses from Guang) did not refer to horses bred in Guangxi proper. Southwestern horses of good quality were mainly produced in Dali and its vicinity but were afterwards procured by the Song government from Guangxi. It is probably due to this fact that southwestern horses were conferred with this unique name.

In Hengshan, the trade season normally lasted from October to April. Each year, with the start of the season, the Horse Procurement Department would send a number of *zhaomaguan* 招馬官 (horse trade enticement officials), who were mainly of local origin, to entertain tribal chieftains with silk, damask and satin brocades. Horse “bands” of different sizes would then set out for the Song state, and another welcome banquet officiated by a senior government official (the *Xi tiju* 西提舉 or Western Supervisor of the Horse Procurement Department) would be given at the border, while the Associate Military Inspector 同巡檢, patrolling on the border with his troops, could escort the horse “bands” all the way from the border to Hengshan Stockade. This trip would take six days.⁴⁴ Transactions followed an interesting pattern. While tribal chieftains 蠻首 and the Eastern Supervisor of the Horse Procurement Department (東提舉) sat together on the stage, watching the horses being bartered between the Song officials and tribal traders, Song troops guarded the stockade gate and purposely stayed at some distance from the tribal traders.⁴⁵

Horses would mostly become bare-boned after travelling long distances. Such skinny animals could not be sold for a good price. The southwestern tribal traders, however, had their own methods of solving the problem. According to contemporary records, they would tie the four hoofs together and pull the horse to the ground, forcing it to eat salt – around one kilogram! – before releasing it to have water and grass nearby. Interestingly, the thin and weak animals could become strong and heavy again within a couple of weeks.⁴⁶

Horses purchased at Hengshan Stockade had to be divided into a number of *gang* 綱 or groups, in accordance with government regulations, when the trade season was about to end. While each *gang* of normal horses consisted of fifty heads, the strong and high ?taller/ animals (*chuge ma* 出格馬) were grouped into special *gangs*, which would have about thirty animals. The fifteen administrative regions of Guangxi would then each send one horse conveying group to Hengshan to receive the various horse assignments. These

⁴² Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, j. 5, pp. 195-197.

⁴³ Ibid., j. 3, p. 122; Xie Jin 解縉 and Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝 et al. (comp.), *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典, j. 8506, entry on “Nanning fu 南寧府”, 18a. The original text in *Lingwai daida* reads “中國通道南蠻, 必由邕州橫山寨”.

⁴⁴ Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 183, “bing 23”, 4b; Xie Jin and Yao Guangxiao, *Yongle dadian*, j. 8570, entry on “Nanning fu”, 14a.

⁴⁵ Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, j. 5, p. 187.

⁴⁶ Ibid., j. 5, pp. 191-192.

groups included one senior official, five lower-rank officials, one veterinarian, and twenty-five soldiers (fifteen soldiers for the special *gang*). The latter had to hold the horse reins, each soldier taking care of two horses. Horse conveying officials would be promoted rapidly if all horses reached their destination alive. Otherwise, they would be downgraded or flogged before being expelled from the military. This demonstrates the importance of horses in Song China.⁴⁷

Attention should also be given to the commodities offered for horses. While the horse trade in the northwest was characterised by the exchange of tea from Sichuan for warhorses, the indigenous tribes at the southwestern frontier were not interested in tea because that was available throughout the southwest. Consequently, the Song court had to provide other commodities, such as gold, silver, copper coins, salt and various kinds of silks, damask and brocade. Contemporary records mention that each year in the 1150s CE the Song court had to allocate 50 *yi* 鎰 of gold, 300 catties of silver, 200 bolts of brocades, 4,000 bolts of damask and satin, as well as 2,000,000 catties of salt to obtain 1,500 horses at the Hengshan Stockade Market.⁴⁸ Clearly, salt and silks were the staple commodities offered for horses from the southwest. Aside from horses, other local products from Yunnan and mainland Southeast Asia also entered the Hengshan Stockade Market, such as musk, sheep, Dali fowls, woollen carpets, mercury, firs, Yunnan knives and different kinds of herbs.⁴⁹

The Hengshan Stockade Market not only functioned as a bridge to maintain economic relations between Song China and the southwestern tribes but also played a crucial role in introducing Chinese culture into the non-Chinese tribal regions, which is clearly demonstrated from the commodities involved in bilateral trade. The Yunnan and Guizhou plateau had formed part of the Chinese empire prior to the fifth century CE and local elites had largely accepted Chinese civilization. Although most of these indigenous regimes had become politically and economically independent in the late ninth century CE when the Tang dynasty declined, their interest in Chinese culture did not disappear. The Dali kingdom in Yunnan especially was eager to obtain Chinese classical books. In the winter of 1173 CE, for example, the Dali authorities dispatched a mission led by Li Guanyin 李觀音 to negotiate with the Song state about the horse trade. Guided by a Temo kingdom 特磨國 aboriginal (Nùngshi 儂氏), this group of twenty-three, upon reaching Hengshan, presented a long list of goods they desired to purchase. What really surprised the Song officials was that these traders were particularly interested in acquiring a large number of classical texts on literature, history, medical sciences and language. The following titles were among the desiderata: *Wujing guangzhu* 五經廣註, *Chunqiu houyu* 春秋後語, *Qieyun* 切韻, *Baijiashu* 百家書, *Shi ji* 史記, *Han shu* 漢書, *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, *Wang Shuhe maijue* 王叔和脈訣 and *Qianjinfang* 千金方.⁵⁰

The southwestern horse trade, centered on Hengshan, developed rapidly. In 1135 CE, the Song court fixed the annual procurement quota for that market at 1,400 animals. Shortly afterwards, the annual quota was increased to 1,500 heads. In some years when there were capable officials to oversee the horse procurement business at the market, as many as 3,500 horses could be purchased annually.⁵¹

THE SOUTHWESTERN BARBARIANS AND THE HORSE TRADE

When discussing the southwestern trade in horses, it should be remembered that some horses were not procured through trade along the frontier. A large number of *manma* 蠻馬 (literally: “horses of the southern barbarians”) bred in Tibet and other tribal regions were obtained through regular tribute trade. This can be

⁴⁷ Ibid., j. 5, p. 192.

⁴⁸ Li Xinchuan, *Jiannan yilai xianian yaolu*, j. 162, p. 2629. *Yi* 鎰 denotes an old weight measuring unit in imperial China, particularly for measuring gold; each *yi* equals 24 taels or 750 grams, while 2,000,000 catties (*jin* 斤) of salt mentioned in the Song record can be converted to c. 1,000,000 kilograms.

⁴⁹ Fan Chengda 范成大 (author), Hu Qiwan 胡起望 and Tan Guangguang 覃光廣 (eds.), *Guihai yuheng zhi jiyi jiaozhu* 桂海虞衡志輯佚校注 (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1986), pp. 96-97; Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, j. 5, pp. 193-194; Xie Jin and Yao Guangxiao et al., *Yongle dadian*, j. 8507, 14b-16a.

⁵⁰ Li Xinchuan, *Jiannan yilai chaoye zaji*, j. 18, pp. 279-280; Wu Jing 吳儼, *Zhuzhou ji* 竹洲集, Sikuquanshu zhenben ed. (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1972), j. 10, 9a-9b; Xie Jin and Yao Guangxiao, *Yongle dadian*, j. 8507, 14a-14b.

⁵¹ Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 182, “bing 22”, 17b, 24a; “bing 23”, 6a-8b; Li Xinchuan, *Jiannan yilai xianian yaolu*, j. 143, p. 2304; j. 186, p. 3115.

explained in the following way. Fearing that tribal rebellions might occur frequently, like the one led by the Nanzhao kingdom 南詔王國 in Tang times, all Song emperors were particularly careful when dealing with the southwestern tribes. The founding emperor Song Taizu 宋太祖 drew a line which took Dadu River 大渡河 as a natural boundary thus dividing the southwestern territories into two parts.⁵² Tribes living north of that River (within the boundary 界內) were generally called *Shuman* 熟蠻 and *Shufan* 熟蕃 (“cooked barbarians”, for assimilated “barbarians”), while those on the other side (outside the boundary 界外) were labelled as *Shengman* 生蠻 and *Shengfan* 生蕃 (“raw barbarians”, for uncivilized “barbarians”) because the vast expanse of land south of the river at that time was still under Dali control. As pointed out, the political strategies of the Song state aimed at neutralizing potential adversaries in the southwest without lifting a sword; this had led to the so-called *jimi* 羈縻 policy. Such formulas as “controlling barbarians with barbarians” (以蠻制蠻) or “acknowledging someone as barbarian chieftain while allowing the barbarians to rule themselves” (樹其酋長,使自鎮撫) were part of the daily rhetoric.⁵³

With this policy in mind, we can now look at the role played by indigenous tribal chieftains in the horse trade. Several tribes, usually called *fan* 蕃 or *man* 蠻 in Song works, were actively involved in sending tribute to China. These missions brought horses, deer, leopard furs, cinnabar, woollen carpets, ramie, wines, rice and other products. The generous souvenirs and gifts they received from the Song government included brocades, silk textiles, silver and salt.⁵⁴ A careful reading of the sources reveals that quite a number of chieftains regularly sent tribute to the horse markets along the southwestern frontier. The *Xi’nan wuxing fan* 西南五姓蕃 (Southwestern Barbarians of Five Clans) is a case in point. “*Wuxing fan*” refers to the five most influential tribal clans of the southwestern regions; these were surnamed Long 龍, Luo 羅, Fang 方, Shi 石 and Zhang 張. They all belonged to the *shengfan* (raw barbarian) confederation, but were also classified as *qianfan* 淺蕃 (“shallow barbarians”), for example in the famous *Lingwai daida* 嶺外代答 by Zhou Qufei 周去非, who thought they had already adopted some elements of Chinese civilization and should thus stand between the two extremes of “raw” and “cooked”. Zhou’s evidence was that these five tribal clans often sent tribute.⁵⁵ Shortly afterwards, two families surnamed Cheng 程 and Wei 韋 joined this group, which was now called *Xi’nan qifan* 西南七蕃 (Southwestern Barbarians of Seven Clans).⁵⁶

Most tribal groups had their own pasturelands, usually near the frontier, where they also had their settlements. They usually relied on breeding and trading horses for their survival.⁵⁷ Song records show that every four to five years they would bring horses and other local products to the frontier markets such as Lizhou (Hanyuan County 漢源縣 of Sichuan), Yizhou 宜州 and Yongzhou. Occasionally tribute missions would also travel to the Song capital to be interviewed by the emperor. Some leaders and tribes, it may be added, had adopted Chinese names and were able to converse in various Han languages, but they belonged to different ethnic groups and should not be confused with the Han Chinese. This is not always evident from the sources.

Of the seven clans, the Long clan was obviously the most wealthy and powerful one. It was based in Nanningzhou 南寧州 (modern Huishui County 惠水縣 of southern Guizhou), a site famous for its excellent horses.⁵⁸ In 967 CE, the first Long tribute mission, led by a certain Long Yantao 龍彥綽, reached Song China.⁵⁹ From that time onwards, almost every two or three years Long missions, usually comprising several hundred to c. 1,500 tribesmen, would travel to Kaifeng 開封, the imperial capital, offering horses and other local products to the throne. The Song court would usually reward them with expensive textiles and salt, according to their rank. The leading members of each clan would also receive honorary titles. This policy of conferring titles upon loyal leaders aimed at controlling one tribe through another.

⁵² Tuotuo, *Song shi*, XVIII, j. 353, p. 11149.

⁵³ Ibid., XX, j. 493, p. 14171.

⁵⁴ Li Xinchuan, *Jiannan yilai xianian yaolu*, j. 64, pp. 1095-1096.

⁵⁵ Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, j. 1, p. 49.

⁵⁶ Tuotuo, *Song shi*, XX, j. 496, pp. 14241-14242.

⁵⁷ Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, IV, ce 84, “zhiguan 43”, 81a.

⁵⁸ Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, j. 9, p. 349; Tuotuo, *Song shi*, XX, j. 496, pp. 14241-14242.

⁵⁹ Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 198, “fanyi 5”, 10a.

The largest Long mission reached Kaifeng in 1002 CE. There were 1,600 clansmen in all, 460 horses and a large quantity of southwestern products such as herbs and indigenous textiles.⁶⁰ Since the journey from the southwestern frontier to the capital was very long and a large number of horses either plummeted from cliffs or died of diseases during the trip, the Song court issued an edict in 1004 CE, permitting the Long clan and other tribal tribute missions to deliver their tributes directly to the Yizhou authorities thus reducing the high mortality of horses.⁶¹

Relations between the Long clan and the Song court were quite close and would not be disturbed by unexpected changes such as the sudden death of a chieftain. In 971 CE, for example, when Long Yantao died, the Song court immediately appointed his son Long Hantang 龍漢瑯 to become the next border prefect in Nanning. This post, entitled *Nanningzhou cishi jian fanluoshi* 南寧州刺史兼蕃落使 (Regional Chief for Nanning Prefecture and Frontier Affairs Head), was to administer the trade in horses.⁶² Long Hantang saw to it that several families within the Long clan began to organise their own tribute missions and also kept an eye on the quality of the horses bred in Nanningzhou. The following decades thus witnessed around twenty southwestern chieftains from the Long clan visiting different frontier markets with their missions and goods, and their official titles were often recorded by the Song government as *fanwang* 蕃王 (“barbarian kings”) or *buluo wangzhi* 部落王子 (“tribal princes”).⁶³

The key role played by these chieftains in promoting the trade in horses along the southwestern frontier was not confined to Guizhou. A similar situation could be observed in Lizhou 黎州, the leading horse market in western Sichuan. During the Song dynasty, there were twelve major tribes in the region surrounding Lizhou: *Shanhou lianglin man* 山後兩林蠻, *Qiongbuchuan man* 邛部川蠻, *Fengpa man* 風琶蠻, *Baosai man* 保塞蠻, *Buluo man* 部落蠻, *Miqiang buluo* 彌羌部落, *Jinglang man* 淨浪蠻, *Bai man* 白蠻, *Wumeng man* 烏蒙蠻, *A-zong man* 阿宗蠻, *Xuhen man* 虛恨蠻 and *Xiaolu man* 小路蠻. The majority belonged to the Yi ethnic group.⁶⁴ Evidently religious rituals played a key role in the daily life of these tribes because they were controlled by “demon masters” (*guizhu* 鬼主), or shamans, who would protect them against baleful mountain spirits and other dangers. As the *guizhu* exerted great power over the secular affairs of the Yi,⁶⁵ they also become involved in the tribute trade. Horse missions sent by the *Shanhou lianglin* and *Qiongbuchuan* groups were thus led by a *guizhu* or *daguizhu* 大鬼主 (Grand Demon Master).

Yi horses were usually classified as *mingma* or “excellent horses”, but the volume of this trade was not very significant, ranging from a few dozens to c. 200 or 300 animals per mission.⁶⁶ As the Yi tribes were in the south of the Dadu River, beyond Chinese control, their tribute missions had to cross that river with leather boats, which no doubt was very dangerous. To remedy such a precarious situation, in 982 CE the

⁶⁰ Ibid., VIII, ce 198, “fanyi 5”, 13a.

⁶¹ Ibid., VIII, ce 198, “fanyi 5”, 15a-15b.

⁶² Ibid., VIII, ce 198, 10b.

⁶³ Ibid., VIII, ce 198, 10a-13b, 16a-16b, 19a-24a. Song primary sources record to several chieftains from the Long clan, usually in connection with tribute trade missions. This includes Long Hanyao 龍漢峽, Long Hanxuan 龍漢瑯, Long Hanxing 龍漢興, Long Guanglian 龍光璉, Long Guangying 龍光盈, Long Guangdian 龍光腆, Long Guangjin 龍光進, and Long Yixiang 龍以香.

⁶⁴ Tuotuo, *Song shi*, XX, j. 496, pp. 14230-14231. The Yi people, who originally arrived in the Jinsha River 金沙江 valley after the fall of the Han Dynasty, became known as the Black Barbarians 烏蠻, as opposed to the indigenous White Barbarians 白蠻, another group in that area. In early Chinese texts the latter are recorded under different names such as Boren 樊人, Pu 濮人 and Baizu 白族. The Yi then kept on migrating along the western frontier of Sichuan, more or less in sight of the Liang 涼山 and Wumeng Mountains 烏蒙山, both at the easternmost extension of the Tibetan massif. By the fourth century CE they had crossed the Jinsha into Yunnan and Guizhou. The areas occupied by them were usually above 1,800 meters, and they were good breeders of horses, sheep and cattle. For a detailed study on the historical development of these early tribes and China's southwestern frontier in medieval times, see Richard L. von Glahn, *The Country of Streams and Grottoes: Geography, Settlement, and the Civilizing of China's Southwestern Frontier, 1000-1250* (Yale University, unpubl. Ph.D. diss, 1983). Another relevant study is Li Rongcun 李榮村, “Xidong suyuan” 溪峒溯源, *Guoli bianyiguan guankan* 國立編譯館館刊 1.1 (1971), pp. 7-23.

⁶⁵ Fan Chuo 范綽 (author), Xiang Da 向達 (ed.), *Man Shu jiaozhu* 蠻書校注, *Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), j. 1, p. 31; Hu Qingjun, “Songdai yizu xianmin diqu nuli zhidu de fanrong fazhan”, pp. 60-61.

⁶⁶ Tuotuo, *Song shi*, XX, j. 496, pp. 14230-14241.

Song emperor ordered the Lizhou local government to built large junks which would make the journey much safer.⁶⁷

On the other hand, the Song government's reservations against the southwestern tribes greatly hampered the development of trade in these areas. The imperial court was always afraid that certain groups might covet Chinese soil. Therefore, precautions measures were quietly arranged while tribal traders were induced to barter for horses. In Sichuan, for instance, the Song government prevented tribal traders from entering the mountainous inland (*jin shan* 禁山). All horse traders had to do their business at the Lizhou market.⁶⁸ Moreover, as tribal traders often took a shortcut by crossing the Mahu River 馬湖江 to reach the market in Rongzhou 戎州 (Yibin 宜賓 of Sichuan), the Song authorities installed a thick iron chain across the river, aiming at locking it (*suo jiang* 鎖江).⁶⁹

A similar situation occurred in the area of Ziqi 自紀. Ziqi was a powerful kingdom in the twelfth century and located between Yunnan and Guangxi. It was controlled by the Yi, had a vast expanse of territories, and could raise more than 100,000 soldiers. Due to its strategic location, this polity was able to monopolise the southwestern horse trade for several consecutive decades. Each year, it would dispatch thousands of tribesmen to Hengshan. The horses sold to the Song government in this way, amounted to about three quarters of the total annual imports, which was really impressive. In 1161, instead of bartering at Hengshan as required by the Song, the horse traders from Ziqi proceeded directly from Nandanzhou to Yizhou. At first, the Yizhou authorities refused to buy their horses as this would violate relevant security regulations (Yizhou was too close to the inland cities). The Ziqi traders, however, did not give in and simply camped outside of the town wall, forcing the Yizhou government to eventually purchase 150 horses from them. The Song court was alarmed by this incident and immediately instructed the Yizhou market to be shut down.⁷⁰

Precautions not only targeted the southwestern tribes, but were also applied to the regimes of Southeast Asia. In 1175, the Champa king sent 600 persons aboard thirty ships to Hainan, together with an official letter requesting the Song Military Commissioner Zhang Jingfu 張敬夫 to sell war horses. As soon as Zhang's urgent report reached the Chinese emperor, the court ordered him to turn down Champa's request with the excuse that Chinese horses had never been exported. Disappointed with this negative response, the sizable Champa horse procurement mission had no option but to sail back.⁷¹

CONCLUSION

The above shows that the trade in horses flourished under the Song, one of the underlying factors being that many horse farms established in earlier times were destroyed in the chaotic war period of the tenth and early eleventh centuries CE.⁷² The Song government simply could not meet the basic requirements of its cavalry by providing them with enough warhorses. As a result, Song China was forced to purchase horses from the steppes of Serindia, Transoxania and Mongolia, the grasslands of Northeast Asia, and the mountainous highlands of the southwest. Dozens of horse markets emerged along its borders. Four important market clusters can be identified: the northern markets, the northwestern markets, the western markets, and the southwestern markets. Clearly, they did not all flourish at the same time. Careful observation reveals that overall imports declined in the course of time. Moreover, the centre of trading activities shifted throughout the Song period, moving gradually from the northeastern frontier to the northwest, then to the west, and finally to the southwest. While warhorses purchased from the northern and northwestern borderlands were usually of good quality and thus indispensable for maintaining China's cavalry, those collected at the western and southwestern

⁶⁷ Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 198, "fanyi 5", 11a-11b.

⁶⁸ Ibid., VIII, ce 192, "fangyu 12", 7a-7b; Tuotuo, *Song shi*, XX, j. 496, pp. 14233-14234.

⁶⁹ Fan Chengda, *Wuchuan lu* 吳船錄, Zhibuzu zhai congshu ed. (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1985), j. B, p.5.

⁷⁰ Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, j. 5, pp. 189-190; Wu Jing, *Zhuzhou ji*, j. 1, 3b-4a; j. 10, 9b-10a.

⁷¹ Li Xinchuan, *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji*, j. 18, pp. 279-281. Also see the paper by G. Wade, in this volume.

⁷² For an excellent study on Wudai China, see Wang Gungwu, *The Structure of Power in North China during the Five Dynasties* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967). A revised edition was recently published in Singapore and entitled *Divided China: Preparing for Reunification 883-947* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co., 2007).

peripheries were less sturdy and less suitable for the military, but also indispensable for the Chinese economy, especially in Southern Song times.

The structure of the horse trade also differed in terms of the other commodities involved in it. In the north, tea was the principal exchange commodity for horses. Along the southwestern frontier, salt and various silks stood *in primo loco*. Historians have devoted much attention to the study of the tea-and-horse trade, but comparisons between the different regions are rare. The southwestern periphery and the horse trade between China and mainland Southeast Asia in particular would need more attention.

Another point concerns the similarity of the pastoral economies in the northwest. Most steppe dwellers – Qinghai Tibetans, Tanguts, Uighurs, Khitans, etc. – faced similar economic conditions and depended on Chinese imports. This prevented them from forming a large anti-Song coalition. Instead of waging costly wars against the latter, they promoted the breeding and selling of horses and the import of Chinese agricultural and manufactured products through the northwestern markets.

The horse trade in the frontier regions has been the central theme of this study. This can be linked to different “theories” of the frontier. Already in 1894 Frederick Jackson Turner defined the term “frontier” as the “meeting point between savagery and civilization”⁷³ – a definition no longer acceptable today, although it would go well with the official records of Song China and their manner of depicting the tribal neighbours along China’s periphery. Perhaps it would be more adequate to describe the “frontier” as a zone without clearly defined political boundaries, but with spaces where different people would meet in search for urgently needed resources – and allies. This article may be seen as an effort to present Song China’s frontiers, or borderlands, as contact zones characterized by the active involvement of different ethnic groups, indigenous chieftains, traders, influential local magnates, soldiers, and petty government officials, who lived on the frontier and negotiated for horses and other commodities, or who pursued diplomatic objectives while maintaining economic, cultural and political exchange.

In other words, although the Song government often connected the horse trade to diplomatic considerations and the political management of the frontier, tribesmen and non-Han groups on China’s periphery contributed considerably towards the procurement of horses for the Song. A full account of the horse trade in this period still remains to be written, but the above does at least suggest that the role played by frontiers in borderland trade should never be underestimated.

⁷³ For Turner’s theory, relevant critiques and studies, see Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Krieger, 1976); Owen Lattimore, *Studies in Frontier History: Collected Papers, 1928–1958* (Paris: Mouton, 1962); Howard Lamar and Leonard Thompson (eds.), *The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); and Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987).

Hainan and the Trade in Horses (Song to Early Ming)

Roderich PTAK¹

INTRODUCTION

Almost throughout recorded history horses have played an important role in China. They were adored by the imperial court and ruling elite, needed in warfare, especially to defend the northern borders, and used for transportation. Countless poems and paintings describe these wonderful animals, veterinary texts discuss their anatomic features and the ways to cure horse diseases. There were times when China had enough horses, but in other periods shortages occurred. Although horse breeding techniques were known, local supplies rarely satisfied demand, particularly in those years during which the army required first-class horses. Access to the caravan routes and northern lands was crucial in order to obtain foreign products, including animals. In certain epochs this led to long-lasting trade cycles between China and her Northern and Inner Asian neighbours. Thousands of horses were thus traded along the borders, often in special “markets”, where Chinese merchants or government agents exchanged them for tea, silk and other domestic products. These episodes have been studied by Smith, Serruys, Rossabi, Mackerras and many others – usually with reference to one dynasty or sub-period, and mainly with regard to the northern regions, Korea, and the Southwest.² The maritime scenario is less well documented, but there are now also some modern works with notes on Ming imports from Ryukyu and various countries of the “Southern Seas”.³

The present note will look at yet another regional “market”, namely Hainan. It intends to show how this tropical island became involved in China’s horse trade. The focus will be on the Song, Yuan and early Ming periods, i.e., on the four or five centuries preceding the arrival of the first few Europeans. In order to proceed with my notes, several preliminary remarks – on geo-political aspects, the sea routes, and Hainan’s foreign trade sector – will be necessary. I shall begin with some observations related to the geographical aspects.

MARITIME TRADE ROUTES AND TYPES OF TRADE

In the age of sail Hainan was linked to the so-called western sea lane, or *xi hang lu* 西航路, which ran from Fujian and Guangdong to the Vietnamese coast from where it branched out into the Gulf of Siam, towards the north-western section of Kalimantan and the east coast of the Malaysian peninsula. This route passed Hainan on its eastern and southern sides. Long distance traffic, including diplomatic missions bringing trib-

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² Paul J. Smith, *Taxing Heaven’s Storehouses. Horses, Bureaucrats, and the Destruction of the Sichuan Tea Industry, 1074–1224* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1991); Yang Bin, “Horses, Silver and Cowries: Yunnan in Global Perspective”, *Journal of World History* 15.3 (2004); Henri Serruys, “Mongol Tribute Missions of the Ming Period”, *Central Asiatic Journal* 11 (1966), pp. 1-83, and *Sino-Mongol Relations during the Ming*, especially vols. 2 and 3 (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1967 and 1975); Morris Rossabi, “The Tea and Horse Trade with Inner Asia during the Ming”, *Journal of Asian History* 4 (1970), pp. 136-168; Colin Mackerras, “Sino-Uighur Diplomatic and Trade Contacts (744–840)”, *Central Asiatic Journal* 13 (1969), pp. 215-240; etc. From the many Chinese and Japanese titles, only one example is mentioned here: Tan Yinghua, “Mingdai xi’nan bianjiang zhi chama shi yi”, *Ming shi yanjiu luncong* 1 (1982).

³ R. P., “Pferde auf See: ein vergessener Aspekt des maritimen chinesischen Handels im frühen 15. Jahrhundert”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34 (1991), pp. 199-233 (the same journal issue contains additional essays related to the horse trade), and “Pferde auf See: Chinas Pferdeimporte von den Riukiu-Inseln und den Ländern Südasiens und des Indischen Ozeans (1368–1435)”, in the occasional paper series *Kleine Beiträge zur europäischen Überseegeschichte* 8 (Bamberg: Forschungsförderung für vergleichende europäische Überseegeschichte, 1991).

ute to China, would follow that trade artery and thereby also move through the waters off Hainan. But ships bound for Guangzhou, Quanzhou 泉州 and other locations further north would rarely stop in Hainan's harbours, the principal reasons being navigational and cost considerations, as I have described elsewhere.⁴ True, occasional stays on Hainan are recorded, especially in Ming works; however, they were not the rule.

Merchants engaged in what has often been described as "peddling trade" certainly behaved differently. They would sail from one port to the next, without following a strict plan, or business strategy. Their principal concern was to buy cheap and sell dear, and they would deal in all kinds of goods. In contrast to their long distance "colleagues", these peddling merchants certainly had a greater interest in visiting Hainan's ports, be they located along the island's eastern and southern shores, or along the western and northern littoral facing the Gulf of Tongking and the narrow sea lane between modern Haikou and the Leizhou 雷州 peninsula. Sailing through these waters required much more time and navigational experience, than sailing along the *xi hang lu*. Especially the northern passage in and out of the Gulf of Tongking was always feared. Countless ships got wrecked in these waters, and long distance traders tended to avoid them altogether.

In short, long distance traffic, in the form of tribute trade or "purely" commercial ventures, was one thing. It was intimately associated with the western trade artery and usually bypassed Hainan. Peddling trade can be seen as another category. This form of traffic concerned all harbours and inlets of Hainan – and thereby also the Gulf of Tongking. Hainan's links to the Vietnamese coast, it would seem, mostly fell into this second category, although tribute ships from Champa would certainly use the *xi hang lu* as well, especially when travelling northbound, in the general direction of Guangzhou and Quanzhou.

This general picture can now be amplified. First, trade out of Hainan also implied the transportation of local tribute goods, provided by different Li 黎 groups, to the China mainland. Second, from the mainland, Hainan received certain products, some of which were sent through the hands of government officials. But most products arriving at the island, it would seem, were shipped by private entrepreneurs. Typical Hainanese imports were rice and most manufactured goods; these had to be brought from Guangdong and Fujian. Zhao Rugua 趙汝适, for example, records the shipment of lacquer, ceramics and other such things from Quanzhou. This refers to the Song period.⁵

In geographical terms, trade involving shipments from Hainan to the mainland or in the other direction, had many facets. Some ships would cover longer distances such as the direct route between, say, the modern Haikou region and the coast of Fujian – this segment formed part of the *xi hang lu*; other vessels sailed from Hainan's northern shores to one of the small ports around the Leizhou peninsula, or to some Guangdong location farther north. However, sources pertaining to the periods dealt with in the present paper rarely throw light on the relative importance of these different trading "options", the frequency of local exports and imports, and the extent to which certain goods were shipped in and out on a specific route.⁶

Such uncertainties also pertain to our theme – Hainan's involvement in the trade of horses. Sources do refer to the transportation of horses from Hainan to other locations, as we shall see below, but we are not told which routes were used and in what form these transports occurred. Horses, we know from other regions, could be carried over long distances. Examples are the regular horse shipments through the Arabian Sea, from Hormuz and other places to the west coast of India, or the tribute shipments from Ryukyu to Fujian. Thus, Hainanese horses, when brought to the mainland, were possibly transported over a longer distance, to a major port such as Guangzhou, or alternatively, they were simply sent across the Qiongzhou 瓊州 Strait, to the nearest possible anchorage on the other side of that sea alley. As previously stated the details regarding these two alternatives are not clearly reported.

⁴ R. P., "Hainan: From Zheng He to Fernão Mendes Pinto", at the symposium "Fernão Mendes Pinto e a Peregrinação – Viagens, Visões e Encontros", Convento da Arrábida, Portugal, October 2005.

⁵ Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill (ed. and tr.), *Chau Ju-kua. His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1911), p. 177.

⁶ One source with references to Hainan's routes is Yue Shi 樂史, *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記, 2 vols., Songdai dili shu si zhong (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1963), II, especially j. 169, pp. 463 and 465 (8b and 11b).

THE SONG PERIOD

In written records, Hainan is first brought into connection with horses under the Song. Both Zhou Qufei 周去非 in his *Lingwai daida* 嶺外代答 (1178) and Zhao Rugua's *Zhufan zhi* 諸蕃志 (1225) refer to horses on Hainan, but give no further comments.⁷ The *Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝 (c. 1221) by Wang Xiangzhi 王象之, however, denies their existence, claiming that there were “neither horses nor tigers” on the island.⁸ This last remark is also found in earlier material, for example, in Han records. It is quoted in later sources as well, another example being the *Qiong tai zhi* 瓊台志 (now *QTZ*) of the Zhengde period (1506–1521).⁹ That work in turn cites yet another Song compilation, namely the *Fangyu shenglan* 方輿勝覽 (preface 1239). The latter refers to “small horses” (*xiao ma* 小馬), but also carries the phrase “neither horses nor tigers”.¹⁰

Taken together, these data seem to be contradictory at first sight, especially because of the negative statement in *Yudi jisheng*, but in all likelihood the author of that work had made uncritical use of earlier texts (indeed, he quotes a book entitled *Nanhai zhi* 南海志¹¹), so his views on Hainan did not correspond to the situation prevailing under the Song. By contrast, Zhou Qufei and Zhao Rugua were much better informed and we should therefore rely on their observations, rather than on those by Wang Xiangzhi.

The fact that Hainan, under the Song, did have some horses is also corroborated by the *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿. There is, for example, a reference to horses in the Lin'gao 臨高 region of northern Hainan.¹² The horses mentioned in that context were borrowed from a Li tribesman. Additional information comes from a very different “corner”: obviously Champa needed good horses and thus tried to acquire them from Hainan, or China more generally. In 959, 992/993, 1004, 1010, 1015, 1068 Champa envoys requested and / or received horses from the imperial court. These were symbolic gifts. Usually the Chinese side granted one or two white horses only, if the information collected in *Song shi* 宋史 (c. 1345), *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (printed 1322), and *Song huiyao jigao* is correct.¹³ But that is not all. In 1175, we read, the export of horses to Champa was interdicted.¹⁴ This last statement suggests frequent sales – probably of larger quantities and not just of one or two animals – in the period preceding 1175. Some of these “mass exports”, provided they really occurred, were effected through Hainan. A brief entry in *Song huiyao jigao* says that people from Champa, with the assistance of their counterparts in Jiyang 吉陽 Commandry on Hainan, had openly acquired horses on the island. More evidence is found, for example, in *QTZ*: according to that source, “Champa came again to buy horses” in 1172. But its envoys (or ordinary traders?) were not well received by

⁷ Almut Netolitzky, *Das Ling-wai tai-ta von Chou Ch'ü-fei. Eine Landeskunde Südchinas aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*, Münchener Ostasiatische Studien 21 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977), p. 34; Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 183; Angela Schottenhammer, “Hainans politisch-ökonomische Anbindung an das chinesische Festland während der Song-Dynastie”, in Claudine Salmon and R. P. (eds.), *Hainan: De la Chine à l'Asie du Sud-Est, Von China nach Südostasien*, South China and Maritime Asia 10 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), pp. 54, 71. – For horses in the greater context of Song-China, see J. K. Chin's contribution to the present volume.

⁸ Wang Xiangzhi, *Yudi jisheng*, Songdai dili shu si zhong, 2 vols. (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1963), II, j. 125, 2b (p. 661); Schottenhammer, “Hainans... Anbindung”, pp. 55, 69. – Other Song geographies, for example *Taiping huanyu ji* (j. 169) and *Yuanfeng jiuyue zhi* 元豐九域志 (j. 9), refer to the products and tribute items of Hainan, but horses are not mentioned in these sources.

⁹ Tang Zhou 唐胄, (*Zhengde*) *Qiong tai zhi* (正德) 瓊台志, 2 vols., Tianyi ge cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji shuju, 1964), I, j. 9, 1a-b.

¹⁰ Zhu Mu 祝穆, *Fangyu shenglan*, 3 vols. (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1981), II, j. 43, 2a (p. 899), 6b (p. 908).

¹¹ See n. 5 above. It is not clear to which edition of that lost book he refers.

¹² Xu Song et al. (comp.), *Song huiyao jigao*, 8 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), VIII, *fanyi* 5, 47a (pp. 7790); Schottenhammer, “Hainans... Anbindung”, p. 81.

¹³ For details see Robert M. Hartwell, *Tribute Missions to China, 960–1126* (Philadelphia: author's edition, 1983), pp. 154–156, 159, and Hans Bielenstein, *Diplomacy and Trade in the Chinese World, 589–1276*, Handbook of Oriental Studies / Handbuch der Orientalistik, Section Four, China, vol. 18 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 41–48.

¹⁴ Ma Duanlin 馬端臨, *Wenxian tongkao*, 8 Bde., Guoxue jiben congshu (Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1959), VIII, j. 332, p. 2610 A; *QTZ*, j. 21, 19b; Bielenstein, *Diplomacy*, p. 48.

the local Hainanese and this entailed some violence.¹⁵ The text then continues by mentioning the interdiction of 1175.

The above observations point to two things: first, regular gifts of horses were offered to Champa at the imperial level, mostly during the earlier half of the Song period; second, repeated exports in the twelfth century (note the expression “again” in the *QTZ* statement), from Hainan to Champa, led to some kind of trouble, which in turn resulted in the interdiction of 1175.

Here the question arises why would Champa try to obtain Chinese horses directly from the Song court, or from Hainan? A possible answer is that Champa was engaged in frequent hostilities with its northern neighbour, Jiaozhi 交趾 (different orthographs; Dai Viet), therefore it needed horses and weapons. In certain periods, China also became involved in these constellations. This meant that Jiaozhi was “sandwiched” between two sides, the Song state in the north, and Champa in the south. In 1076, for example, the Song court proposed that Zhenla 真臘 (Cambodia, a direct neighbour of Champa) and Champa should jointly move against Jiaozhi. In 1092, to mention another example, Champa invited China to attack Jiaozhi.¹⁶

But tensions between Jiaozhi and Champa did not imply that trade between these two states was halted. On the contrary, there were some periods when Champa obtained horses from Jiaozhi – and not from China. Moreover, Jiaozhi itself was involved in diplomatic exchange with the Song state and on several occasions it offered horses to the Chinese side. These horses, which Jiaozhi passed on to Champa in the south, or to China in the north, probably came from the mountainous regions farther west, i.e., from Guangxi and Yunnan, or even from the Dali 大理 area (Nanzhao 南詔).¹⁷ Recently, Tana Li has collected valuable evidence for this trade. She also drew attention to the fact that Jiaozhi and its western neighbours occasionally fought over the supply of horses.¹⁸

Put differently, Jiaozhi had to obtain most of its horses from abroad, some of these animals were then sent to Champa or to China. In times of tension, or when these “flows” were interrupted, Champa would turn to Hainan or mainland China instead, seeking to satisfy local demand through alternative channels. Therefore, the temporary Hainan-Champa “horse connection” under the Song can be seen as the outcome of a complex situation on the Southeast Asian mainland. More generally, and placed in a broader perspective, it can also be defined as being part of the mountain-sea exchange chain that connected Yunnan and Guangxi via Jiaozhi to Champa and China’s coastal regions.

Here we can briefly return to the “model” outlined in section II. References to the transportation of Hainanese horses under the Song suggest occasional traffic across the Gulf of Tongking. It is unlikely, however, that these shipments were the result of Champanese “shopping tours” compatible with the “peddling category”. Rather it would seem, they were undertaken on behalf of the Champa state, as a special kind of short distance venture directed to a neighbouring terrain.

THE YUAN PERIOD

The situation under the Yuan dynasty is all but clear. News on Hainan’s exterior links during this period are not as abundant as under the Song. Yuan works dealing with the maritime world – for example the *Daoyi zhilüe* 島夷誌略 (1349/50) – rarely refer to Hainan. Although Hainan was linked to the mainland – militarily, logistically, commercially and in other respects – as well as to the maritime world (as I have shown else-

¹⁵ Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, *fanyi* 4/83 (p. 7755b). Also in *QTZ*, j. 21, 19b. Li Jinming 李金明 and Liao Dake 廖大珂, *Zhongguo gudai haiwai maoyi shi* 中國古代海外貿易史, Dongnanya wencong (Nanning: Guangxi renmin chubanshe, 1995), p. 67. More in G. Wade’s contribution to the present volume.

¹⁶ Hartwell, *Tribute Missions*, pp. 160-161; Bielenstein, *Diplomacy*, p. 46.

¹⁷ From time to time, Dali itself sent horses to China. See, for example, Bielenstein, *Diplomacy*, pp. 268-269.

¹⁸ Tana Li, “The Rise and Fall of the Jiaozhi Ocean Region”, in Angela Schottenhammer and R. P. (eds.), *Maritime Space in Traditional Chinese Sources*, East Asian Maritime History 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), pp. 135-137, and sources quoted there. – Yongzhou 邕州 was particularly important for the horse trade. Examples are in Wang Xiangzhi, *Yudi jisheng*, II, j. 106, 4b-5a (pp. 595-596), and Zhu Mu, *Fangyu shenglan*, III, j. 39, 5b et seq. (p. 840 et seq.).

where), close to nothing is reported on its horses during Mongol times.¹⁹ All we may say is this: presumably, the local population continued to raise its own horses, which were used on the island itself. Furthermore, some Li groups openly supported their new masters, even beyond the geographical limits of the island, for example during the costly campaigns against Japan.²⁰ Thus, military units stationed on Hainan were also employed in various endeavours outside the island. All this may have involved sending Hainanese horses to the China mainland or the area now forming part of Vietnam. In one case, for example, three thousand men and three hundred horses, possibly from Hainan, were requested for war services against Champa. Similarly, within the so-called *tuntian* 屯田 system, which comprised several Li units, horses may have been used as well.²¹ Occasionally, “cavalry” was also employed on Hainan itself, as was said – mainly during small campaigns designed to subdue rebel groups.²² Finally one may think of horses in connection with a sizeable group of Cham soldiers, who were settled near Haikou, together with their families. These were later referred to as “Nanfang bing” 南方兵²³; possibly they had some horses as well.

THE MING PERIOD: GENERAL SITUATION

Transition from Yuan to Ming rule entailed several changes along China’s littoral. Quanzhou declined, Guangzhou became the Ming empire’s leading port in the south, and Hainan, formerly placed under the Guangxi government, was now administered through the Guangdong region. The internal setting of the island’s administration also underwent certain alterations. Furthermore, sea trade was rigorously controlled. The maritime supervisorates of earlier periods were kept, but on a reduced scale. Officially, Hainan had no share in this structure and did not function as a major gate in and out of China; foreign tribute ships would rather sail to Guangzhou. Furthermore, in theory at least, private trade was largely forbidden.

Thus, in terms of the ideas outlined in section II, most long distance ventures would bypass the island. Even the gigantic armadas of Zheng He 鄭和 had little to do with Hainan. Only in exceptional cases did Chinese envoys use the island as a platform for their missions to Southeast Asia and would tribute ships make stopovers in one of its inlets. These vessels mostly came from Champa, Siam and Malacca and they usually sailed independently of the great Ming fleets directed by Zheng He and other court eunuchs.

As private trade was not permitted, technically, the peddling category did not exist. But of course, private trade flourished clandestinely, and Hainan continued to be in touch with the mainland – as well as with certain other areas, via this sector. As in other Chinese coastal regions, these illegal links led to the emergence of various smuggling gangs, which plundered Hainan’s coastal villages, often clashing with regular Ming troops.

One other element within the mosaic of Hainan’s outside connections was the Ryukyu kingdom. Ships registered in Naha did occasionally visit Hainan on their way to Southeast Asia and back. The Ryukyuan shipping network profited from very special tribute regulations, from the general ban on private trade, and from secret connections to Fujian and other areas along the China coast. One of the “commodities” provided by the Ryukyuan, via regular tribute trade, was horses, as had already been mentioned above. But these horse shipments from Ryukyu were in no way related to Hainan.

¹⁹ R. P., “Hainan’s Position in Maritime Trade, c. 1000–1500”, paper read to an international conference in Hong Kong, summer 2001, and, in revised form, to a meeting at the Academia Sinica, Taipei, summer 2006. – Works such as *Yuan yitong zhi* 元一統志 are silent on Hainan’s horses. – On horses under the Yuan, more generally, see, for example, Gunther Mangold, *Das Militärwesen in China unter der Mongolenherrschaft* (Bamberg: aku Fotodruck, 1971), pp. 44–46 (on the acquisition of horses). – The *ma zheng* 馬政 section in the Yuan annals and other parts describing military affairs do not refer to Hainan. See Song Lian 宋濂, *Yuan shi* 元史, 15 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), especially, IX, j. 100, pp. 2553–2558.

²⁰ For example, Song Lian, *Yuan shi*, I, j. 12, p. 257; XV, j. 209, p. 4647.

²¹ For example *QTZ*, j. 20, 11a–12a (*tuntian*), j. 21, 20a (request). More generally Tang Kaijian 湯開建, “Yuandai dui Hainandao de kaifa yu jingying” 元代對海南島的開發與經營, *Ji’nan xuebao* 暨南學報 45 (4/1990), pp. 133–134.

²² For example *QTZ*, j. 21, 7b.

²³ *QTZ*, j. 21, especially 21a; Tang Kaijian, “Yuandai”, p. 133; Zhang Xiumin 張秀民, *Zhong Yue guanxishi lunwenji* 中越關係史論文集 (Beijing: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 1992), p. 304.

Champa, Malacca, Java, Siam and many other countries sending tribute in the times of Zheng He, and even thereafter, also offered horses. Indeed, horses are the most frequently mentioned import item to China in the context of maritime tribute trade. Even though regular tribute ships sailed along the *xi hang lu*, following Hainan's east coast, there are practically no records that might bring them into connection with Hainan's own horse supplies. It thus appears that Hainan's horse "market" had nothing to do with tribute shipments from Southeast Asia and countries of the Indian Ocean.

What then did Hainan's market look like? To begin with, we know from local gazetteers that horses were used by the military on Hainan, as in previous periods. The *QTZ* refers to cavalry units, saddles and other equipment.²⁴ Under the early Ming, according to one count, there were 23 war junks (plus many other patrol ships), next to 16,000 regular soldiers, and 160 military horses in all. According to another count, relating to 1542, Hainan had 171 horses.²⁵ But the local distribution of these animals, or the cavalry more generally, remains open. Nor do we know whether locally bred horses used by the military were also provided to military units stationed on the mainland, especially to units engaged in war against Annam 安南 (Dai Viet). By and large it seems that this long-lasting war was fought quite independently from Hainan. True, Hainan did provide some logistic support, but sources do not mention the shipment of cavalry across the Gulf of Tongking.

What else can one say? The total number of horses referred to above – 160 animals – appears to be rather small, especially when compared against the gigantic numbers found in connection with the horse trade along China's northern borders, or the numbers given for military units stationed in these regions.²⁶ On the other hand, we read in a very different source – a famous letter by Cristovão Vieira – that Hainan had "many *sendeyros*" (various spellings), i.e., "many small horses". Vieira was a captive in Guangzhou during the early sixteenth century, more or less at around the time when the *QTZ* was compiled, and he certainly had access to reliable information, so his statements should bear some weight. He adds that in the whole of Guangzhou one could find some 200 animals in all. Furthermore, in his account horses appear *in primo loco* among the products of Hainan. All this suggests that these animals, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and perhaps even earlier, were of some importance to the Hainan economy, or at least in the military context.²⁷

THE MING PERIOD: TRIBUTE IMPORTS FROM THE LI

Additional information comes from yet another source. The *Ming shilu* 明實錄 (now *MSL*), one of the key works for the Ming period, refers to several Hainanese tribute missions offering horses to the imperial court. These missions were usually dispatched by local Li groups living on the island itself. As far as one can tell, they had nothing to do with the tribute missions arriving from overseas countries, nor with private illegal

²⁴ *OTZ*, for example, j. 18, 24a; j. 20, 21b.

²⁵ Generally on Hainan's military under the Ming: Kobata Atsushi 小葉田淳, *Hainandao shi* 海南島史 (Chin. tr.) (Taipei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1979), pp. 100 et seq.; Yang Dechun 楊德春, *Hainandao gudai jianshi* 海南島古代簡史 (Changchun: Dongbei shifan daxue chubanshe, 1988), pp. 82-86; Lu Wei 盧韋, "Mingdai Hainan de 'haidao', bingbei he haifang" 明代海南的'海盜', 兵備和海防, *Ji'nan xuebao* 暨南學報 45 (4/1990), p. 107; R. P., "Hainans Außenbeziehungen während der frühen Ming-Zeit (Hongwu bis Hongzhi)", in Claudine Salmon and R. P., *Hainan*, pp. 88-89. – Other recent surveys dealing with Hainan's history also discuss the island's military equipment, but these works can be cited here. – Besides local chronicles one important "primary" source is Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., *Ming shi* 明史, 28 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), especially VIII, j. 90, pp. 2202, 2217 (Hainan wei 衛), 2218 (various battalions). Also see Liew Foon Ming, *The Treatises on Military Affairs of the Ming Dynastic History (1368–1644)*, 2 vols., Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e.V. Hamburg 129 (Hamburg: Gesellschaft..., 1998), II, pp. 165, 169, 170. – For the numbers, see Huang Zuo 黃佐, *Guangdong tongzhi* 廣東通志, 4 vols. (Hong Kong: Dadong tushu gongsi, 1977), II, j. 31, pp. 807-808 (30b, 32a).

²⁶ For this see, for example, the relevant chapters in Zhang Tingyu, *Ming shi*, especially VII, j. 80, pp. 1947-1955, j. 81, pp. 1982-1983, and VIII, j. 92, pp. 2269-2277. – Other important works, such as Yang Shiqiao's 楊時喬 *Huang Ming mazheng ji* 皇明馬政記, 4 vols. Xuanlantang congshu 69-72 (Nanjing 1947), and Mao Yuanyi's 茅元儀 *Wu bei zhi* 武備志, 22 vols. (Taipei: Huashi chubanshe, 1984), XIII, j. 146-147, are not very helpful for our theme.

²⁷ R. P., "Hainan in the Letters by Cristovão Vieira and Vasco Calvo", in Roberto Carneiro and Artur Teodoro de Matos (eds.), *D. João e o império. Actas do Congresso Internacional Comemorativo do seu Nascimento (Lisboa e Tomar, 4 a 8 Junho de 2002)* (Lisbon: Centro de História de Além-Mar, 2004), pp. 495-496.

trade across the Gulf of Tongking, or the shipment of military goods in and out of Hainan. Below is a summary of these Li missions listed in the *MSLLZ*:

- Yongle 6: The prefect of Qiongzhou, Liu Ming 劉銘, leads the tribal district heads (*tongshou* 峒首) of the “raw” Li (*sheng* Li 生黎), Wang Xianyou 王賢祐, Wang Hui 王惠 and Wang Cunli 王存禮 and others, to present horses as tribute to the imperial court. In reward, Wang Xianyou is appointed vice magistrate of Danzhou 儋州, the other two are appointed assistant magistrates in the district (*xian* 縣) of Wanning 萬寧. Furthermore, they receive official insignia and paper money as gifts (*MSLLZ*, p. 646; *Taizong SL*, j. 76, p. 1039).
- Yongle 11: A further embassy, led by Huang Mao 黃茂 of Lin’gao district, and headed by Wang Ju 王聚, Fu Xi 符喜 and others, representing twenty-four tribal districts of the “raw” Li, offers horses (*MSLLZ*, p. 647; *Taizong SL*, j. 141, p. 1692).
- Yongle 12: Wang Guanlian 王觀監, the tribal district head of the “raw” Li in Chengmai 澄邁 *xian*, and others, send their sons, who present horses, receiving money in return (*MSLLZ*, p. 647; *Taizong SL*, j. 158, p. 1801).
- Yongle 14: The tribal district heads of the “raw” Li, Wang Sa 王撒, Li Fojin 李佛金 and others, guided by Wang Xianyou – the official appointed in 1408 (Yongle 6) –, offer horses. They are sent back with money (*MSLLZ*, p. 648; *Taizong SL*, j. 177, pp. 1933-1934).
- Yongle 16: The magistrate of Gan’en 感恩 *xian*, Lou Jifu 樓吉福, and others guide one or several tribal district head(s) of the “raw” Li to the court. Again, horses are presented and money is received in compensation (*MSLLZ*, p. 648; *Taizong SL*, j. 203, p. 2101).
- Hongxi 1: Horses and local products are presented by Xu Tang 許棠, son of Xu Zhiguang 許志廣, and other envoys. The text is somewhat ambiguous here: not all envoys come from Hainan, and one cannot tell whether horses are offered by all delegates or just by one envoy. Furthermore, the characters for “aboriginal officer, district magistrate” may refer to Xu Zhiguang only, or to several persons. Perhaps this envoy represented Qiongzhou 瓊山 *xian* and other districts. – In a further entry it is said that Xu Tang and others were rewarded with gifts and robes (*MSLLZ*, p. 649; *Xuanzong SL*, j. 10, pp. 269, 290).
- Xuande 8: Fu Zhongde 符忠得, son of the aboriginal officer and assistant magistrate of Qiongzhou *xian*, Fu Tongqing 符通卿, and others offer horses and local products. Further entries say they received gifts and ceremonial robes in return, and Fu was promoted to assistant magistrate (*MSLLZ*, p. 653; *Xuanzong SL*, j. 106, pp. 2357, 2363).
- Xuande 10: Ni Tong 倪通, son (?) of a former tribal officer from Lin’gao *xian*, and an envoy from Guangxi submit horses, receiving gifts in reward (*MSLLZ*, p. 653; *Yingzong SL*, pp. 209-210).
- Zhengtong 3: Lou Jian 樓鑑, the aboriginal magistrate representing Gan’en *xian*, sends the Li leader Fu Nakang 符那康 and others, who offer horses and local products, receiving silks in return (*MSLLZ*, p. 654; *Yingzong SL*, j. 47, pp. 908-909).
- Zhengtong 5: Envoys from the north, as well as the aboriginal officer of Danzhou, his son Wang Mao 王懋 and others, present horses and furs, receiving gifts in reward (*MSLLZ*, p. 655; *Yingzong SL*, j. 72, p. 1399).
- Zhengtong 6: Wang Mao 王茂 of Lingshui 陵水 *xian*, Li Min 黎珉 of Yazhou 崖州, Huang Zheng 黃政 of Ningyuan 寧遠 *xian* – all tribal drafters – and Chen Bao 陳堡, a tribal leader, present horses and local products. They receive gifts (*MSLLZ*, p. 655; *Yingzong SL*, j. 76, p. 1505).
- Zhengtong 6: Fu Yingqian 符應乾, son of the tribal associate magistrate in Changhua 昌化, and other envoys from different regions offer horses and local products. They are rewarded with money (*MSLLZ*, p. 655; *Yingzong SL*, j. 78, pp. 1541-1542).
- Zhengtong 12: Several envoys, including the tribal head of the Li in Changhua *xian*, Zhao Keyong 趙克勇, present horses and local products. They are rewarded with gifts (*MSLLZ*, p. 658; *Yingzong SL*, j. 155, p. 3027).

- Zhengtong 14: Several envoys, including Huang Qi'nan 黃其男, a tribal vice police chief of Yazhou, and Luo Muchou 羅幕籌, a Li leader, offer horses and local products. They receive silks in return (*MSLLZ*, p. 658; *Yingzong SL*, j. 176, p. 3392).
- Jingtai 3: Wang Chi 王敔, a tribal officer in Wanzhou 萬州, and an envoy from Sichuan submit horses; they are rewarded with gifts (*MSLLZ*, p. 658; *Yingzong SL*, j. 216, p. 4672).
- Tianshun 1: An envoy from Sichuan, together with Ni Ze 倪澤, a tribal drafter in Lin'gao *xian*, and others come to court, offering horses and local products, for which they are compensated with gifts and ceremonial robes (*MSLLZ*, p. 659; *Yingzong SL*, j. 280, p. 5996).

The above list was compiled on the basis of the Guangdong and Hainan data found in the modern *leizuan* version of the *MSL*. Several interesting observations can be derived from this list:

- (1) Before the Yongle era and after the Tianshun reign horses are not mentioned as tribute items in connection with envoys arriving from Hainan; to some measure the main period of imports from Hainan coincides with the “peak period” of imports from other maritime areas. (Note, however: the Ryukyu kingdom sent horses for a much longer time).
- (2) A general review of the *MSL* data suggests that most Li delegations, including those whose tribute gifts are not specified in the text (and not listed here), came during the earlier part of the Ming dynasty; very often they were indeed led by Chinese officials.
- (3) In most cases the tribal leaders and officers of a delegation received rewards; this was a common practice within the tribute system.
- (4) Hainanese envoys were made up of both “raw” Li representatives and “ordinary” Li leaders; it seems, the first category was most frequently found during the Yongle reign.
- (5) Evidently personal relations played an important role in tribute trade. There are, for example, references to fathers and sons. Obviously a trustworthy and well-connected person could send relatives on his behalf.
- (6) Now and then the text is ambiguous because one does not know whether it was the Hainanese envoy who offered horses, or another envoy arriving at the same time, and listed jointly with the Hainan delegate – or whether all envoys presented the same gifts. Typical examples are the last five entries. Similar textual problems can be found in the context of tribute missions from other maritime areas.²⁸

Here we may turn to a different set of questions. Unfortunately, the number of Hainanese horses presented as tribute is nowhere stated in our text. Indeed, the term *ma* might stand for several animals, or just one horse. Nor do we know how these horses were carried across the sea from Hainan. Moreover, it is also possible that additional animals were bought *en route* to the imperial capital, for example in Guangzhou, but evidence for this was not found.

In the absence of the relevant details, it is of course difficult to gain a clear picture of Hainan's horse exports during the early and mid Ming periods. How important were they for the Li and the Hainan economy *in toto*? Are we looking at a phenomenon that only carried symbolic weight, or at a major “commercial” branch of Hainan's foreign relations, as Vieira's statements seemed to suggest?

The very fact that horses are the most frequently mentioned tribute item in connection with Li delegations travelling to the mainland, in most cases indeed the only item specified by our text, is puzzling. Several explanations can be thought of: the *MSL* editors, following the conventions of their time, exaggerated the importance of these animals for the mainland economy and the military, possibly because of shortages in the northern areas and constant threats emerging from the Mongols and others powers, or simply because already under the Hongwu emperor, proposals had been made, and orders given, to intensify the acquisition of horses, for example, via the tribute trade through “aboriginal officers” (*tuguan* 土官).²⁹ Hence the import of horses would always be recorded, irrespective of their place of origin and the size of the shipment in

²⁸ For some of these issues, see R. P., “Pferde auf See”.

²⁹ See, for example, Yang Shiqiao, *Huang Ming mazheng ji*, j. 5, 2a. Also see, more generally, Zhang Tingyu, *Ming shi*, for instance, VIII, j. 92, p. 2277.

question.³⁰ Or, alternatively, horses did indeed play a significant role in the context of “diplomatic” exchange between the Li and the Ming – quite in contrast to other “commodities” that were perhaps traded by private merchants between Hainan and the mainland, within the illegal sector, and therefore rarely “surfaced” in the tribute segment. Interestingly, many references to aromatic substances, precious stones and highly-priced woods, rare animals and various other *mirabilia* can be found, side by side with references to horses, in the context of tribute shipments from Southeast Asia and countries of the Indian Ocean as was said. This might suggest that Hainan did not have very much to offer then that was considered valuable by the officials on the mainland, or the editors of official history works – with the exception of horses.

Nothing else can be said with certainty. The internal market situation on Hainan remains unknown, prices and quantities as well as the ports through which horses were channelled from the island to the mainland are not clearly recorded. Only some general observations can be made to round off this incomplete picture: first, under the Song period, horses were sent to the region now called Vietnam. Under the Ming, no evidence for this was found; instead, for the first time in history, horses appear in northbound tribute traffic dispatched by the Li. Furthermore, if Guangzhou was the principal harbour for these tribute vessels to call at, then one might be tempted to put this branch of Hainan’s foreign trade into the long distance category.

One conclusion for the Ming period would then be that, due to strong demand on the continent, the maritime flow of certain commodities, including horses, was diverted to the metropolitan centres in China – at least in part. Viewed from a longer perspective, this was an artificial phenomenon, indeed a singular “affair” in history – and a rather short-lived one as well. No doubt, at some point in time, Hainan’s horse shipments came to an end, possibly in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, but the circumstances under which that happened remain unknown. Nor do the sources tell us how Hainan’s domestic horse market developed from that point onwards. Put differently, we are faced with a mystery here – or, positively, with two clusters of data, one pertaining to the Song period, and one to the Ming.

FINAL OBSERVATION

Horses, it would seem, do not belong to the indigeneous fauna of Hainan. Modern works on Hainan’s animal world usually do not mention them. However, Qing writers and early Western authors occasionally refer to Hainanese horses, saying they would be very small, like ponies. Hence the term *xiao ma* (which should not be confused with yet another term, *shanma* 山馬). Fenzel believes that these horses were imported to Hainan in historical times.³¹ But it is not clear when exactly the first imports had occurred. Probably they had taken

³⁰ Similar questions can be raised in connection with horse imports from Indian Ocean and Southeast Asian countries during the days of Zheng He. Almost no numbers are available for these shipments. This is very different in the case of Ryukyuan tribute shipments, where a much clearer picture can be reconstructed. See, for example, the table in Chang Pin-tsun, *Chinese Maritime Trade: The Case of Sixteenth Century Fu-chien (Fukien)* (Princeton 1963; unpubl. PhD dissertation), p. 355-357.

³¹ Gottlieb Fenzel, “Die Insel Hainan. Eine landeskundliche Skizze, dargestellt auf Grund eigener Reisebeobachtungen und des vorhandenen Schrifttums”, *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in München* 26 (1933), p. 180; Schottenhammer, “Hainans... Anbindung”, pp. 54-55. – Zhao Rugua and Zhou Qufei speak of *xiao ma* in the Li area (see references in n. 4 and 6 above). According to Hans Stübel and P. Meriggi, *Die Li-Stämme der Insel Hainan. Ein Beitrag zur Volkskunde Südchinas* (Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann Verlag, 1937), pp. 49-50, 199, Hainan’s horses were similar to the “Mongolian pony”; this might explain the attribute *xiao*. An early description may be found, for example, in Gu Jie 顧价 (with R46!), *Haicha yulu* 海槎餘錄 (c. 1540; Jilu huibian ed. in Baibu congshu jicheng), 5b, where Hainan’s horses are compared to donkeys and mules. Han Zhenhua, quoting a Qing work – Li Tiaoyuan’s 李調元 *Nan Yue biji* 南越筆記 (see the Hanhai ed., in Baibu congshu jicheng, III, j. 9, 1b-2a), is of a different opinion: he thinks *xiao ma* should refer to *shanma* (not horses). Han’s comment is in *Zhufan zhi zhubu* 諸蕃志注補, in Chen Jiaorong 陳佳榮, Qian Jiang 錢江 et al. (eds.), *Han Zhenhu xuanji* 韓振華選集, vol. 2, Centre of East Asian Studies Occasional Papers and Monographs 134.2 (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong, 2000), p. 478 n. 52. However, in *QTZ*, j. 9, 5b, and other sources (for example Gu Jie, *Haicha yulu*, 3a) *shanma* is compared to some kind of deer, possibly the *sambar* or others. For these animals, in the modern Hainan context, see, for example, Shi Haitao 史海濤, Meng Jiliu 蒙激流 et al., *Hainan luxi jizhui dongwu jiansuo* 海南陸栖脊椎動物檢索 (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001), pp. 211-212. – Also note: *Sambar* is a term current in some parts of South and Southeast Asia. *Shanma* could thus be an early phonetical version of *sambar*, invented by local or Fujianese residents on Hainan. Interestingly, in *Grzimeks Tierleben* (Munich: DTV, 1979), XIII, pp. 171-173, the expression “Pferdehirsch” is used, which reminds one of a remark in *QTZ*, where it is said, this animal would be “as big as a horse”.

place prior to the Song period, because, as was shown above, by then the local population was already in a position to export these animals.

Possibly Hainan's horses had originally come from continental Southeast Asia. A number of references to horses in the areas of modern Cambodia and Vietnam are known to exist. Old Cham and Khmer sculptures depict them, and horses can also be associated with the Mon state and other polities in the modern Thai, Myanmar and southern Yunnan regions.³²

Zoologically, Hainan's earliest horses were certainly related to their "relatives" on the neighbouring mainland, and these in turn were probably mostly connected to those found in the plateau regions of Laos, northern Thailand, and Yunnan. Thus, in all likelihood, the Hainan horse was a variation of *Equus caballus* – "cochinchensis", "yunnanensis", etc., if one may say so – or a mixture of several "types". Later Arabic infusions cannot be totally excluded because, under the Song, Hainan was not only in touch with Champa and the China mainland, but also with the so-called Bosi 波斯 traders from western Asia, some of whom did in fact trade out of Champa, on an "axis" that connected this country, via Hainan, with Guangzhou, Quanzhou and other ports on the China mainland. Therefore it could be that – occasionally – horses from the Gulf region had reached Champa and / or Hainan on board foreign vessels hailing from the "Far West", and that these imports were crossed with some smaller continental variety. However, if so, this was certainly the exception and not the rule...

³² For references to early continental Southeast Asia, see, for example, William G. Clarence-Smith, "Horse Breeding in Mainland Southeast Asia and Its Borderlands", to appear in Peter Boomgaard and David Henley (eds.), *Smallholders and Stockbreeders. Histories of Foodcrop and Livestock Farming in Southeast Asia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004). For early Yunnan and its adjacent areas, see Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, *La civilisation du royaume Dian à l'époque Han d'après le matériel exhumé à Shizhai shan (Yunnan)*, Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient 94 (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1974), pp. 19-20, 76; Charles Backus, *The Nan-Chao Kingdom and T'ang China's Southwestern Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 9, 30, 119, 163.

Horses in Late Imperial China and Maritime East Asia: An Introduction into Trade, Distribution, and other Aspects (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)

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INTRODUCTION

For China, the import of horses over the centuries played a very important role. China did breed its own horses, but they were regarded as being of minor quality² and in addition could not meet by far the government's demand for horses. The main foreign source of horses was the steppe countries in the north and west of China. Horses were obtained through trade and tribute relations with neighbouring nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples. Well aware of the problem that they did not have at their disposal sufficient horses of a high enough quality, the first Ming (1368–1644) emperor, Hongwu 洪武 (r. 1368–1398) had established two organizations to breed horses for battle – the *Yuanma si* 苑馬司 (Pasturage Office) and the *Taipu si* 太僕司 (Court of the Imperial Stud); in addition, so-called “horse households” (*mahu* 馬戶) in the north and north-west of China had to provide the government with horses. But already by the end of the fifteenth century, the government had to allow these horse households to purchase “Western horses” (*xima* 西馬) from private traders, who bought the horses at frontier markets in the northwest. Once again, more or less the only option to obtain horses was the trade with the nomads.

A sufficient supply of high quality horses and the horse trade itself remained important also for the subsequent Manchu Qing dynasty. The Qing obtained their horses at private markets with government funds, requisitioned them from surrendered Mongols – as we shall see below, the Zunghars, for example, delivered vast quantities of horses to the Qing – or from government pastures in north and northwest China. Thus there were, basically three sources of horses under the Qing – self-breeding, especially in the newly conquered areas in inner Asia like Outer Mongolia and Xinjiang (1), trade (2), and tribute (3). I would, however, like to emphasize that the term “tribute” comprised various kinds of trade and mutual relationships and should not solely be understood in the narrow meaning of a vassal paying tribute to its supra-ordinate master.

Mongols and Tibetans in Kokonor, for example, provided mares for 8 taels each and stallions at 12 taels each, which was an extremely high price. The Kazakhs, on the other hand, promised to provide valuable horses for a reasonable price in exchange for tea and cloth from the interior. China's north trade bartered horses and sheep for cloth, mostly cheaper satins and silks in bold colours, which were delivered by Jiangnan

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² Matteo Ricci noted in the late sixteenth century that most Chinese army horses were so “degenerate and lacking in martial spirit that they are put to route even by neighing of the Tartars' steeds and so they are practically useless in battle.” Quoted according to Morris Rossabi, “The Tea and Horse Trade with Inner Asia during the Ming”, *Journal of Asian History* 4 (1970), pp. 136-168, here p. 139.

officials in the silk factories of the south.³ A 50,000 men army with three horses per soldier required 150,000 horses and certainly more than 200 to serve for replacements over a four-year campaign.⁴

The major source of horses for China throughout the centuries remained inner Asia. However, during certain time periods, horses were also imported from overseas. One typical example is the import of tribute horses from the Ryūkyūs in the early Ming period. Roderich Ptak has already investigated this maritime horse trade of China during the early fifteenth century.⁵ But, as we shall see below, by Qing times, the Ryūkyūs were no longer important as a source for horses. Yet, this did not mean that no more horses were shipped across the Asian waters.

Although some aspects of Ming and Qing period horse trade have been examined so far⁶, no thorough investigation of horses, horse trade, and horse policies in late imperial China or maritime East Asia has yet been undertaken. The present article – albeit it does not and cannot provide an *in extenso* analysis of all aspects of late Ming and Qing period as well as maritime East Asian horse politics and horse trade⁷ – seeks to provide the reader with a general and systematic overview on the role of horses in early modern China, concentrating in particular on the early and high Qing period, and will then proceed to introduce examples of horses being shipped across the East Asian waters. On the one hand, it will soon become plausible why “horses on sea”⁸ during the Qing period were rather an exception than the rule. On the other hand, we will come across various interesting examples providing evidence for “maritime horse transports”, which attest to the importance horses – and not forgetting the knowledge required to use and cherish them – played during the time period investigated.

CHINA

Horses played an important role in Qing politics and culture. The sleeve of a former Manchu's official costume, for example, was shaped like the hoof of a horse. And the well-known Manchu cue or tail of hair is even said to have been adopted in imitation of a horse's tail, as a grateful tribute to the animal to which they owed so much.⁹ Also books on the physiognomy and equine medicine from the Ming and Qing dynasties, some of which can be traced back to Tang dynasty accounts, attest to the importance the animal played in early modern China. The early Qing emperors especially sought to cherish a kind of military spirit among the Manchus that was closely related to the horse.

In this context, the Kangxi Emperor (r. 1662–1722) laid great emphasis on the cavalry. He liked riding and archery and personally led the imperial archery. His equestrian skills were praised repeatedly, for example

On *bingshen* the Emperor rejoiced in appearing himself at a campus for military exercises. He inspected the troops and personally supervised the Imperial Princes shooting [ability]. His majesty himself shot twice and the arrows both reached the middle of

³ The mutual trade relations between the Qing and the Khazakhs have been examined by James A. Millward. Cf. James A. Millward, “Qing Silk-Horse Trade with the Qazaqs in Yili and Tarbaghatai, 1758–1853”, *Central and Inner Asian Studies* 7 (1992), pp. 1–42.

⁴ Peter Perdue, *China Marches West. The Qing Conquest of Central Asia* (Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 2005), pp. 354 and 400–401.

⁵ Roderich Ptak, “Pferde auf See: Ein vergessener Aspekt des maritimen chinesischen Handels im frühen 15. Jahrhundert”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34 (1990), pp. 199–233.

⁶ See for example the studies by James A. Millward, Roderich Ptak, or Peter C. Perdue mentioned above; also Niu Guanjie 牛貫傑, “Qingdai mazheng chutan 清代馬政初探”, *Yanshan daxue xuebao* 燕山大學學報 7, 2 (2006), pp. 57–63; Jie Xiufen 解秀芬, “Ming Qing chama maoyi zhong de jiage wenti 明清茶馬貿易中的價格問題”, *Xibei minzu xueyuan xuebao* 西北民族學院學報 1 (1990), pp. 36–41; Lü Weixin 呂維新, “Qingdai de chama maoyi 清代的茶馬貿易”, *Chaye jixie zazhi* 茶葉機械雜誌 3 (1977), pp. 30–33; Guo Mengliang 郭孟良, “Qingchu chama zhidu shulun 清初茶馬制度述論”, *Lishi dang'an* 歷史檔案 3 (1989), pp. 87–90.

⁷ This would require a systematic analysis of all related entries in contemporary sources, above all, the *Veritable Records* of the Qing rulers (*Qing shilu*), local gazetteers, memorials etc., and would go far beyond the scope of this article.

⁸ The present article, however, does, not investigate horses transported on warships for war purposes.

⁹ C. A. S. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism & Art Motives: Third revised edition with 402 Illustrations* (New York: Dover Publications, 1976), p. 225.

the target. He also ordered fifteen skilful archers with a firm bow to shoot from amongst the imperial guardsmen and then ordered the official troops to shoot from their galloping horses.

丙申上幸演武場閱兵親率諸皇子射上親射二次發矢皆中又命十五射硬弓侍衛等射次命官兵分班校馬步射既畢。”¹⁰

Also the Yongzheng Emperor (r. 1723–1735) stressed that ever since the founding of the dynasty, archery had been an important tool of the Manchus’ success in governance.¹¹ And still the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1736–1795) noted that

Ever since Manchu soldiers have been very good at the art of shooting from horseback; but recently the use of this custom has gradually declined. ... Even high officials no longer consider it an undertaking for drill and discipline, as a result of which this custom gradually gets worse and worse and no longer resembles its former quality by any means.

向來滿洲兵丁以騎設技術為重近日漸染習俗...該管大臣又不以訓練為事以致技術漸劣迥不如前。”¹²

Riding and shooting from horseback were considered essential and also seen as part of the so-called “Manchu Way” (*Manjusai doro*) in contrast to the Chinese.¹³ For shooting while riding the Manchu language even has a separate verb called “*niyamniyambi*”. To keep these skills alive, the court and some garrisons organized hunts in addition to regular training. Equestrian skills were however not limited to this. Some bannermen are said to have been engaged in practicing stunts and tricks in the saddle.¹⁴ To provide bannermen entry into the Chinese bureaucracy, they not only had to go through the regular examinations including translation, but also had to prove their skills at archery, both from a stance and from horseback.¹⁵ The Frenchman Léon Rousset still observed in 1878:

Les exercices sont nombreux et variés. Je vis d’abord successivement les candidats parcourir, au galop de leur cheval, une distance déterminée, tandis que, pendant la durée de cette course, ils chargeaient et déchargeaient plusieurs fois leur vieux fusil à mèche contre un ami imaginaire. L’aisance, la rapidité de la manœuvre, la tenue du cavalier et son habileté à diriger son cheval sans le secours des mains, sont les principales qualités mises en relief par cet exercice. Dans une autre série le fusil à mèche est remplacé par l’arc et les flèches qu’il s’agissait de décocher à des buts fixes placés de distance en distance le long de la piste. Plus tard, je vis exécuter des tours de voltige sur un cheval au repos.”¹⁶

Tartar women, too, were described as being able “to ride astride like men, and make a notable figure either afoot or a-horseback.”¹⁷ The importance of horses – including the qualities the animals should possess – is both reflected in the numerous detailed regulations and rules,¹⁸ also for religious (shamanic) sacrifices and court ceremonies,¹⁹ and, last but not least, by the numerous paintings of tribute horses, ordered by

¹⁰ *Da Qing Shengzu Renhuangdi shilu* 大清聖祖仁皇帝實錄 (Taipei: Hualian chubanshe, 1964), j. 192, p. 29b.

¹¹ *Shizong Xianhuangdi zhupi yuzhi* 世宗憲皇帝硃批諭旨 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983–86), XXIII, pp. 16–17.

¹² *Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi shilu* 大清高宗純皇帝實錄, j. 102, p. 3a.

¹³ For details on the Manchu way, cf. Marc Elliot, *The Manchu way: the eight banners and ethnic identity in late imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

¹⁴ Marc Elliot, *The Manchu Way*, p. 180. The *Baqi tongzhi* 八旗通志 has a separate chapter on horse politics (*mazheng* 馬政). Ortai 鄂爾泰 (1680–1745, ed. and comp.), *Baqi tongzhi* 八旗通志 (*Historical encyclopædia of the Eight Banners*) (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1968; copy of the 1739-ed. (Qianlong 4), in *Zhongguo shixue congshu xubian* 中國史學叢書續編, fasc. 1), j. 41. I used the reprint by Zhao Degui 趙德貴, Liu Suyun 劉素雲 et al., *Qinding Baqi tongzhi* 欽定八旗通志, 12 vols. (Jilin: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 1998), II, j. 41, pp. 739–754.

¹⁵ Marc Elliot, *The Manchu Way*, p. 204.

¹⁶ Léon Rousset, *A travers de Chine* (Paris: 1978), p. 69, quoted in François Aubin, “Entre Ciel et Terre: l’idéal du cheval en Chine”, in Valérie Courtot-Thibault, *Le Petit Livre du Cheval en Chine* (Paris: Caracole : 1989), pp. 79–100, here p. 95.

¹⁷ J. S. Cummins, Haklyut Society (ed.), *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarette*, 1618–1686 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), II, p. 217.

¹⁸ See for example the *Qinding Baiqi zeli* 欽定八旗則例, j. 9 (*mazheng* 馬政), pp. 1–5, in *Siku weishoushu jikan* 死庫未收書輯刊 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2000), XXV, pp. 236–238.

¹⁹ See for example Ortai 鄂爾泰 (Qing) (rev.), *Manzhou Xilin Gioro shi jisi shu* 滿洲西林覺羅氏祭祀書 (1928), in *Beijing tushuguan cang jiapu congkan* 北京圖書館藏家譜叢刊, *Minzu juan* 民族卷, XLIV; Lin Shixuan 林士鉉, “Qianlong shidai de gongma yu Manzhou zhengzhi wenhua 乾隆時代的貢馬與滿洲政治文化”, in *Di’erjie Qingdai dang’an guoji xueshu taolunhui* 第二屆清代檔案國際學術討論會 (Taipei: Taipei Guoli bowuguan, 2005), pp. 1–48, here pp. 37–42.

the Qing Court and often drawn by Western Jesuits.²⁰ Chinese horses were obviously of inferior quality compared to the fine Arab or European horses.²¹ But the report by the Italian Jesuit Laureati from 1714 that “(l)es chevaux chinois n’ont ni la beauté, ni la vigueur, ni la rapidité des nôtres, et les habitants du pays ne savent point les dompter; ils les mutilent seulement, et cette opération les rend doux et familiers. Ceux qu’ils destinent aux exercices militaires sont si timides qu’ils fuient au hennissement des chevaux tartares...”²² seems to be exaggerated and we may only speculate that Laureati was rather eulogizing the European manner of horse riding, or perhaps may have seen one exceptionally badly performed exercise.

The entire quantity of horses during different time periods in Qing China is difficult to assess. First of all, one has certainly to keep in mind that the cavalry was the basis of the Manchu armies; in addition, the army supplies were transported on horseback. Projections speak, for example, of 75,304 warhorses (*yingma* 營馬) alone in the Eight Banners during the Kangxi reign period (1662–1722) and 95,305 during the Yongzheng reign period.²³ The following table may provide a survey on the quantity of horses in the various local units of the Green Standard Army (*lüying bing* 綠營兵; M. *niowanggiyan turun-i cooha*) of the Eight Banner system. Most of the horses were “stationed” in Shaanxi and Gansu that is, along the northern border, followed by Fujian and Zhejiang, LiangGuang, Yunnan und Guizhou as well as Zhili. These listings, it must be emphasized, provide only selected figures. Additional statistics can be found in numerous local chronicles. So far, they have never been examined in a comprehensive manner, but it goes beyond the scope of the present article to introduce an *in extenso* analysis of all the information included in these local gazetteers. The information is, of course, especially valuable in chronicles of northern border regions, such as Gansu, Xining, Qinghai and the like.²⁴

²⁰ One of the most famous paintings in this respect certainly are the scrolls of the “Ten fine horses” (*shi junma* 十駿馬) by Giuseppe Gastiglione and Ignatius Sichelbarth. Cf. for example Lin Shixuan, “Qianlong shidai de gongma yu Manzhou zhengzhi wenhua”, pp. 1-48.

²¹ It is not clear what kind of species Laureati saw, but even the Asiatic or Mongolian wild horse, the Przewalski horse (*Equus ferus przewalskii*), also *Takhi*, is smaller. The Mongolian horse is one of the most important and numerous breeds also found among the indigenous horse breeds of China. They are distributed widely throughout the Northeast, North China and the Northwest, mainly in the high plains and highland areas. It is a dual-purpose horse, used primarily for riding and carting, but is also used for meat and milk production. The average wither height of males is 128 cm, females 127 cm, but body size varies with environmental conditions. Cf. Lee Boyd and Katherine A. Houpt (eds.), *Przewalski's Horse: The History of an Endangered Species* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994). The Przewalski's wild horse was mentioned in literature and even known to the scientific world long before it was described taxonomically. Colin P. Groves refers to “the description of a wild horse hunt, in what would now be Gansu, by Genghis Khan in 1226, and of a wild horse captured at Tachijn-us (central Mongolia) by order of Chechen Khansóloj and presented to the Emperor of Manchuria in 1637.” Colin P. Groves, “Morphology, Habitat, and Taxonomy”, in Lee Boyd and Katherine A. Houpt (eds.), *Przewalski's Horse*, pp. 39-59, here p. 48. Also later descriptions speak for example of the Chinese-Mongolian horses as “an undescribed species of diminutive horse brought from the Chinese frontier” (Ibid, p. 49).

²² *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de Chine par des missionnaires jéuites*, 1702–1776 (Paris: 1979), p. 200, quoted by François Aubin, “Entre Ciel et Terre”, p. 95.

²³ Niu Guanjie, “Qingdai mazheng chutan”, p. 58.

²⁴ Cf. for example Mu Shouqi 慕壽祺 (b. c. 1812), *GanNingQing shilue zhengfu bian* 甘寧青史略正附編 (Lanzhou: Lanzhou junhua yinshuguan, 1936), j. 18, pp. 23b-24a includes a long passage on the system of tribute horses (*gongma zhi zhi* 貢馬之制). With the exception of a few tribes, most had to offer tribute horses according to the size of their tribe, 100 households being the limit (*qi yu fanzu an buluo daxiao mei buluo yi yibai hu wei xian gong na* 其餘番族按部落大小每部落以一百戶為限共納).

Numbers of horses of the Green Standard Army (*lüying bing* 綠營兵) in the various provinces:

Military district	Kangxi	Yongzheng	Qianlong
Zhili	7,467	8,472	9,307
Shanxi	3,221	4,753	4,939
Shandong	4,493	4,488	3,783
Henan	2,332	2,179	2,099
LiangJiang	8,348	7,865	6,276
MinZhe	13,296	12,384	9,181
HuGuang	5,297	5,566	4,420
ShaanGan	41,755	47,286	44,216
Sichuan	7,166	6,746	5,524
LiangGuang	10,017	9,533	6,713
YunGui	10,416	10,109	9,277
Xinjiang			
Beijing Metropolitan Police (<i>xunfu ying</i>)	1,200	1,622	1,440
Total	115,008	121,003	107,193

Source: Niu Guanjie 牛貫傑, “Qingdai mazheng chutan 清代馬政初探”, *Yanshan daxue xuebao* 燕山大學學報 7:2 (2006), pp. 57-63, p. 59.

The *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli* 欽定大清會典則例 (1764) contains a list of how many warhorses were sold to the brigades in every province according to a memorial of 1750:²⁵

- Zhili: 9,668 *pi*
- Shandong: 3,377 *pi*
- Shanxi: 5,255 *pi*
- Henan: 2,101 *pi*
- Jiangnan: 5,638 *pi*
- Jiangxi: 1,389 *pi*
- Fujian: 4,983 *pi*
- Zhejiang: 3,634 *pi*
- HuGuang: 4,438 *pi*
- Shaanxi: 45,298 *pi*
- Sichuan: 5,599 *pi*
- Guangdong: 5,267 *pi*
- Guangxi: 1,511 *pi*
- Yunnan: 5,625 *pi*
- Guizhou: 3,811 *pi*
- In all: 107,594 *pi*

From these two lists it becomes evident that by far the greatest number of horses was “stationed” in the Shaanxi region, followed by Zhili and subsequently other border and coastal regions.

The Qianlong Emperor once compared the horse policy of his dynasty with that of Tang times and spoke of “more than 200,000 horses that were being raised, the number of foals being born increasing annually, and warhorses and postal horses being fed separately, so that the amount reaches 200,000 horses per year.”²⁶ This figure may, thus, perhaps serve as a clue or guideline for the entire quantity of horses in Qing China. The reason why the Manchus bred and disposed of so many more horses than earlier dynasties has primarily to be

²⁵ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 119, p. 21b-22a (559-560).

²⁶ Qing Gaozong 清高宗 (1711–1799, i.e. Qianlong Emperor) (author), Peng Yuanrui 鵬元瑞 (1731–1803) (comp.), *Yu zhishi si ji* 御製詩四集 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), j. 44, pp. 29-30. *Congshu jicheng chubian*, fasc. 2179-2188.

sought in their control on Mongolia, where the ideal pasturelands were located. In 1751 (Qianlong 16), for example, the complete figures for “official horses” (*guanma* 官馬) being shepherded and bred solely by the Eight Banners is said to have come up to 20,773 *pi*; monthly, they were provided with three *liang* of silver for hay and dry fodder (*magan* 馬乾).²⁷

In 1649 (Shunzhi 6), it was memorialized that the horses ridden by officials all had to be provided personally (*zibei* 自備); they were called “*lima* 例馬”. Monthly, fodder was allotted according to the number of horses: a provincial military commander (*tidu* 提督) was permitted to possess fifteen *lima*, a regional commander (*zongbing guan* 總兵官) twelve, or a vice general (*fujian* 副將) only eight, etc.²⁸ From the monthly allotments and salary of military officials, a fixed amount of silver had to be deducted according to the quantity of their horses to be used for the costs of shepherding them; this sum was called “*pengkou yin* 朋扣銀” or simply “*pengyin*” (stable, stake and fodder costs). Sometimes, the *pengkou yin* had also to be used to purchase additional horses.²⁹

At the beginning of the Shunzhi reign, the so-called “Ever-full Hay Barn” (*changing ku* 常盈庫) was established. Money (silver) from the Bureau of Communications (*chejia si* 車駕(清吏)司) and the government stakes (*pengzhuang* 朋樁) as well as the Bureau of Provisions (*wuku si* 武庫(清吏)司) and the horse prices in the *Taipu si* was stored there.³⁰

Breeding of horses

Like the Ming, the Manchus established an Imperial Stud (*Taipu si*) to supply animals for court use and they maintained pasturelands in Manchuria as well as in other provinces in north and northwest China, like Gansu, Shaanxi, Shanxi, Chahar, Zhili, Henan and Sichuan.³¹ But already starting with the military campaigns of the Kangxi Emperor into Mongolia, the costs of providing horses at these distances became too high, and the emperor’s own pastures could not provide sufficient horses to meet the demand. In 1736 (Qianlong 1), the first horse farms (*machang* 馬廠) in the three brigades in Jingzhou 涼州, Xining 西寧 and Suzhou 肅州 in Shaanxi and Gansu, where the main body of troops was stationed, were established. Each horse farm kept 1,200 stud horses, with one commander-general (*zongtong* 總統) supervising the camp. Every camp was divided into five herds with 200 stallions and 44 mares and one battalion commander (*qianba* 千把) as chief

²⁷ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli* 欽定大清會典則例 (1764): Guangxu 25 (1899) *j.* 119, p. 4b (551) (Reprint: Taipei: Zhongwen shuju 1963), 24 vols; and *Siku quanshu*, fasc. 620-625. The text continues that because recently the price of beans in the capital had rocketed, the allotted amount of silver per horse was insufficient and an exceptional arrangement had to be agreed upon. See also Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽 (1844–1927) *et al.* (eds.), *Qingshi gao* 清史稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), *j.* 141, p. 4172. 10,000 were shepherded around the metropolitan area, 1,000 in Rehe 熱河 and the others in Zhili.

²⁸ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j.* 119, pp. 13a-b (555). The *Hanyu da cidian* explains that “*lima*” refers to the quantity of horses allotted according to the regulations. Luo Zhufen 羅竹風 (ed.), *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典, 12. vols. (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 4th edition 1994), I, p. 1335.

²⁹ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j.* 119, p. 17a (557) with examples from 1684 and 1698. This expression seems to have derived from the character for “stable” (棚), comprising the costs for constructing a stable. The term was apparently later extended in meaning referring also to the costs for fodder; this may have been the reason why the character was later simply written as “朋”.

³⁰ *Qingshi gao*, *j.* 141, p. 4177.

³¹ At the beginning of the Qing dynasty the Manchus, following the Ming system, established a Directorate of Imperial Horses (*yuma jian* 御馬監) which, in 1677, was changed to the Palace Stud (*shangsi yuan* 上駟院); it was responsible for the provision and management of imperial horses. Those bred for imperial purposes are called “*neima* 內馬” (lit. inner horses); when they are used for the insignia carried in front of the emperor (*yizhang* 儀仗), they are called “*zhangma* 仗馬”. The imperial horses were branded and a Mongol veterinarian official had to take care of horse diseases. When the emperor visited the ancestral tombs, more than 23,000 (!) horses were needed, for the Eastern and Western tombs more than 4,300. These horses were all provided by the horse farm in Chahar 察哈爾. Cf. *Qingshi gao*, *j.* 141, p. 4171. Horse breeding is also mentioned in the *Baqi tongzhi*, II, *j.* 41, p. 740. For details on the Palace Stud, see *Baqi tongzhi*, II, *j.* 41, p. 741. From 1661 to 1667, the official designation of the Palace Stud was temporarily changed to *Adun Yamen* 阿敦衙門 (lit. “Horse herd Yamen”; *adun* in Manchu means horse, cattle, or sheep herd). Further information on the breeding of horses among the Eight Banners can be found in the *Baqi tongzhi*, II, *j.* 41, pp. 745-749; for horse breeding in the outer provinces (*waisheng muma* 外省牡馬: Gansu, Xining, Suzhou 肅州, Balikun 巴里坤), see *ibid.*, pp. 749-750.

shepherd.³² By the early nineteenth century, these had increased to 20,000.³³ As mentioned above, in 1751 (Qianlong 16), the entire quantity of “official horses” bred by the Eight Banners reached 20,773 *pi*. In 1760, large farms were opened in Xinjiang at Ili, Barköl, Tarbaghatai, and Urumqi – the largest one in Ili had to provide a quota of 9,524 horses every three years.³⁴ The idea to establish horse folds (*quanma* 圈馬) was first proposed by the Manchu official Šuhede 舒赫德 (1711–1777) in 1687.³⁵

Already in 1648 (Shunzhi 5), it was determined that civil and military officials as well as soldiers were permitted to breed horses, but this was not allowed for the common people.³⁶ This prohibition was enforced and specified in 1662.³⁷ All horses issued by the government to soldiers were evaluated for price (*majia* 馬價) and in case of loss the price had to be paid by the soldier. Or, if a soldier’s horse damaged the stake in a government stable, the indemnity had to be deducted from his monthly allotment for fodder (*pengkou yin*) and this was called “*peizhuang yin* 賠椿銀” (indemnity for a damaged stake).³⁸

In 1687 (Kangxi 26), the general Yang Fu 楊福 requested to purchase the horses for soldiers, but the Kangxi Emperor rejected this proposal with the following argument:

The Court constantly provides soldiers with horses from the *Taipu si*, the horse farms, or the Tea and Horse Office, so there is nothing detrimental in having to take care of indemnities for horses. Looking back in history, both the Song and the Ming had no satisfactory policy in their treatment of horses. Pasturelands are best only outside the Great Wall (i.e. in Mongolia), water supply and grasslands are rich and expansive, there are no extraordinary costs for provisions and (the horses) breed very well. If we now drive them into the interior pasture lands (of China), the daily expenses would rise to more than 10,000 *jin* 金.³⁹

Trade and trade restrictions

If the number of horses was insufficient, additional ones had to be purchased, but also tribute horses were used to compensate for the lack of regular horses.⁴⁰ Responsibilities were generally determined in detail. Already in the Shunzhi reign (1644–1661), it was fixed that in case there were not sufficient horses for war, the governor-generals and governors had either to use the next best opportunity to buy additional horses or to report it to the authorities to provide more.⁴¹ As mentioned above, sometimes also the “*pengkou yin*” had to be used by officials to purchase additional horses.⁴² When a horse was sick or of very low quality, a soldier was permitted to sell it and use the proceeds plus a small additional sum provided by his brigade to buy a new one (*dima bian jiayin* 底馬變價銀).⁴³ And it was strictly forbidden to slaughter horses and sell them.⁴⁴ On the other hand, limits and trade restrictions were set up, when the embassies were getting too large. It became known, for example, that the embassies of the Zunghars’ leader Galdan apparently looted and plundered the horses of the Mongols beyond the pass.⁴⁵

³² *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 119, p. 6b (552).

³³ Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West*, p. 354.

³⁴ Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West*, p. 355.

³⁵ Cf. *Qingshi gao*, j. 141, p. 4172. Šuhede was a member of the Šumuru 舒穆魯 clan of Hunchun, Kirin, and came from a family which belonged to the Plain White Banner.

³⁶ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 119, p. 23a (560).

³⁷ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 119, pp. 24a–b (561): Manchu, Mongol, and Han bannermen, civil and military officials, military *jinshi* and *juren* as well as soldiers were permitted to breed horses, while this was prohibited to the people (*minren*).

³⁸ E-tu Zen Sun, *Ch’ing Administrative Terms. A Translation of The Terminology of the Six Boards with Explanatory Notes*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991) p. 253 (entries 1619 and 1623). *Harvard East Asian Studies* 7.

³⁹ *Qingshi gao*, j. 141, p. 4173. I suspect that the term “*jin* 金” refers to gold pieces – in contrast to the normally used silver *liang* – and was used here in order to emphasize the high costs for the breeding of horses in the interior of China.

⁴⁰ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 119, p. 16b (557): In Gansu 8 silver *liang* was paid per horse, in Sichuan 12 *liang*.

⁴¹ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 119, p. 13a–b (555).

⁴² *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 119, p. 17a (557) with examples from 1684 and 1698. This expression seems to have derived from the character for “stable” (棚), comprising the costs for constructing a stable. The term was apparently later extended in meaning referring also to the costs for fodder, and was perhaps therefore simply written as “朋”.

⁴³ E-tu Zen Sun, *Ch’ing Administrative Terms*, p. 254 (entry 1630).

⁴⁴ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 119, p. 27b (562).

⁴⁵ For details see Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West*, pp. 152ff.

Tea, horses, grain and silver had been essential components of Ming frontier trade with Central Asia and they remained so during the Qing. In exchange for horses from inner Asia silk also played a major role.⁴⁶ In 1651 (Shunzhi 8), for example, 35,453 baskets of tea were exchanged for 1,791 horses, in 1652 37,178 baskets for 3,079 horses.⁴⁷ In 1653, Wu Sangui 吳三桂 (1612–1678) alone is said to have purchased 3,078 horses in exchange for tea.⁴⁸ At the beginning of the Shunzhi reign a high quality horse was bought for 12 baskets, a middle quality horse for 9 and a low quality horse for 7; in 1732 (Yongzheng 9), still the same prices are recorded.⁴⁹ But, unlike the Song or the Ming, the Qing did not try to establish either a monopoly or a subcontracted tea-for-horses trade. Yet, until 1705 the Qing also had a Tea and Horse Trading Office (*chama si* 茶馬司).⁵⁰ There, the price of horses was directly commuted into tea quantities. A superior quality horse was equivalent to 12 baskets of tea (each basket of 10 *jin*), a middle quality horse 9 baskets and an inferior quality horse 7 baskets. Compared to the early Ming, these prices were slightly higher, but they were much cheaper than during Song times for example, when a good quality horse was to be bartered for c. 250 *jin* of tea.⁵¹

Quantity of horses exchanged for tea between 1647 and 1653 (Shunzhi 4 to 10):

	Shunzhi 4	Shunzhi 7 (1 st month) ~ 8 (2nd month)	Shunzhi 8 (2nd ~ 7th month)	Shunzhi 9 (10th month) ~ 10 (6th month)
洮州司	97	497+191	200	362+130
河州司	240	878	241	927
西寧司	250	580	1.150	1.300
莊浪司	546	183	200	300
甘州司	71			
sum	1.204	2.322	1.791	3.079

Source: Guo Mengliang 郭孟良, "Qingchu chama zhidu shulun 清初茶馬制度述論", pp. 87-90, 99, here p. 90.

The quantity of horses purchased from abroad is difficult to assess. Especially during the consolidation period of the Manchus in China and later in the wars in inner Asia, great quantities of horses were required, and the sources speak repeatedly about the purchase of horses. In 1651, Kong Youde 孔有德 (d. 1652; Chinese bannerman in the Plain Red Banner) dispatched Guo Jiuxi 郭九錫, Zhang Yunfeng 張雲鳳, Lu Wanzhong 盧萬鐘 and others to go to Xining to purchase horses in exchange for tea.⁵² Also in the early fifties of the seventeenth century, Wu Sangui twice dispatched people to go to the northwest to buy horses. The first time, he "prepared 30,000 *liang* of silver to be taken to the Xining district to buy horses". In all, they bought 2,866 horses. The second time, he sent Long Youming 龍有名, a representative of the Tea and Horse Trading Office, with 3,000 *liang* of silver to buy 130 horses.⁵³ The horses were primarily obtained from the nomads and minority peoples in the northwest of China proper.

⁴⁶ James A. Millward, "Qing Silk-Horse Trade with the Qazaqs", pp. 142.

⁴⁷ Lü Weixin, "Qingdai de chama maoyi", p. 33.

⁴⁸ Diyi lishi dang'an guan (ed.), *Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian* 清代檔案史料叢編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, Xinhua shudian, 1978-), X, p. 37.

⁴⁹ Jie Xiufen, "Ming Qing chama maoyi zhong de jiage wenti", p. 40.

⁵⁰ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 119, p. 17a: "In the past, in Gansu five Tea and Horse Trading Offices had been established, namely in Taomin 洮岷, Hezhou 河州, Xining, Zhuanglang 莊浪, and Ganzhou; and in Kaicheng 開城, Anding 安定, Guannings 廣寧, Heishui 黑水, Qingping 清平, Wan'an 萬安, and Wu'an 武安 seven Directorates (*jian* 監) existed. Annually, a censor (*yushi* 御史) was dispatched as manager. In Kangxi 7 (1668), the responsibilities were returned to the provincial governor (*xunfu* 巡撫) of Gansu to manage the affairs concurrently, until in Kangxi 44 (1705) buying horses for tea ceased." Cf. also *Qingshi gao*, j. 141, p. 4174.

⁵¹ Lü Weixin, "Qingdai de chama maoyi", pp. 30-33.

⁵² *Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian*, X, p. 15.

⁵³ *Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian*, X, p. 37.

After the Manchus had eliminated the Zunghars as a force in the steppe in the late 50s of the eighteenth century, a trade in silk for horses was initiated with the Kazakhs in 1758. This trade has been described in detail by James A. Millward. “Communication between Zungharia, Gansu, and Beijing”, as he states, “created the conditions for a trade based *not* (my emphasis) on tributary relations (as the trade with Zungars had been), but on the principle of fairness and mutual advantage” (*liang de qi ping* 兩得其平).⁵⁴ The variety of goods, the Kazakhs obtained from their trade in northern Xinjiang, where trade with the Kazakhs was carried out, and which, except for the textiles, most probably all came from private traders – ranged from ceramics, lacquer ware, tea, printed cloth, brocade, velvet, serge, satin, piece goods, to armoury, bows and arrows as well as silver pieces (*yambu* or *yuanbao* 元寶).⁵⁵

As “those adept at political matters are not necessarily accomplished traders”,⁵⁶ the Qianlong Emperor called the famous Fan 范 family from Shanxi province, who also dominated the copper trade until c. 1783⁵⁷, to direct and control the barter trade *in situ*.⁵⁸ The governor-general of Shaanxi and Gansu, Huang Tinggui 黃廷桂 (1691–1759)⁵⁹, had recommended the circuit intendant, Fan Qinghong 范清洪⁶⁰, and his brother, the sub-prefect, Fan Qingkuang 范清曠. Already in 1717, another copper merchant, Wang Gangming 王綱明, had been involved in the horse trade. In successive years, Wang Gangming had clocked up a deficit of c. 2,000,000 silver *liang* when procuring copper for the government. Subsequently, in 1717, he was engaged to provide the government with horses in order to enable him to repay the Imperial Household Department his defaults⁶¹ – a calculation that did not work out. At the same time it provides an example which may both attest to the country-wide networking of imperial merchants providing the government with “commodities” of major importance – horses and copper – and to the problems the government had with guaranteeing their supply. But at least procurement of horses seems to have been solved relatively satisfactorily with the new agreement with the Kazakhs after 1758.

In 1650, it was agreed upon that Mongolian horses were not allowed to be traded privately in the capital. There were fines, differing according to status and rank, if somebody offended against this regulation.⁶² In 1749 (Qianlong 14), it was memorialized that all the horses required by the Eight Banners in the metropolitan area had to be purchased at the tax stations where the Imperial Guardsmen bought their horses from mer-

⁵⁴ James A. Millward, “Qing Silk-Horse Trade with the Qazaqs”, p. 10.

⁵⁵ James A. Millward, “Qing Silk-Horse Trade with the Qazaqs”, p. 19, refers to a nineteenth-century Russian account for evidence.

⁵⁶ *Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi shilu* 大清高宗純皇帝實錄, j. 500, pp. 10–13 (according to Millward, fn 24).

⁵⁷ See for example the tomb report of Fan Yubin 范毓黻 “Taipu siqing Fan Fujun Yubin mubiao 太僕寺卿范府君毓黻墓表”, in *Qingdai beizhuan quanji* 清代碑傳全集 by Qian Yiji 錢儀吉 (1783–1850) (comp.), j. 43, p. 224, part of which is also quoted by Fu Yiling 傅衣凌, *Ming Qing shidai shangren ji shangye ziben* 明清時代商人及商業資本 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1956), pp. 190–191.

⁵⁸ James A. Millward, “Qing Silk-Horse Trade with the Qazaqs”, p. 8.

⁵⁹ He has a biography in Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (1644–1912), 2 vols. (Taipei: SMC Publishing 2002), I, pp. 349–350.

⁶⁰ For his biography see Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan 中國第一歷史檔案館 (ed.), *Qingdai guanyuan lili dang'an quanbian* 清代官員履歷檔案全編 (Beijing: Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an, 1997), II: 42 xia; XVI: 577 shang, 581 shang, 17: 230 shang, 236 shang, 680 xia, 685 shang.

⁶¹ The required horses had previously been purchased locally and were then bought at Zhangjiakou with a price deduction of three *liang* per horse. These savings would be deducted at source from the regular price and remitted by the provincial authorities to the Household Department treasury. Wang Gangming's method to reduce costs was to supply horses of minor quality which, as Helen Dunstan put it, “tended to drop dead on the road south” to the postal relay stations of Jiangxi. Thus the latter, lost 345 horses in 1718 and 556 in 1719. Eventually, the services of Wang Gangming had to be discontinued – although he had neither paid back his debt nor were the allocated funds sufficient to purchase good quality horses. Consequently, local officials had constantly to compensate funds for excess equine deaths. See Helen Dunstan, “Safely Duping with the Devil: The Qing State and its Merchant Suppliers of Copper”, *Late Imperial China* 13:2 (1992), pp. 42–81, pp. 57–59, for this horse procurement deal. Also other copper contractors engaged in the early eighteenth century had formerly been involved with horse management, namely the Office of Imperial Stud, for example Shige 十哥, Saodazi 騷達子, or Xi Deku 希得庫, whereas prior to that the copper contractors had basically all been attached to the Imperial Household Department (*neiwufu* 內務府).

⁶² *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 119, pp. 23a–b (560).

chants who possessed certificates with the official seal of the Imperial Guard; otherwise this was prohibited.⁶³

Prices

The prices of horses were subject to various fluctuations. During Ming times the lowest price recorded was 8 *liang*, the highest in contrast 30 *liang*. Prices varied of course according to type, race, and quality of the horse, but it was also dependent on political decisions and developments. The Ming government for example mostly fixed the prices of horses officially and very often we find official (*guanjia* 官價) and market prices (*shijia* 市價) mentioned in the sources. The highest price (30 *liang*) during the Ming dynasty was recorded for 1637 (*chongzhen* 10), a time when great quantities of horses were required both for the wars against the Manchus and against the peasant revolts.⁶⁴

Also during the Qing dynasty we can observe greater price fluctuations. However, generally speaking, prices tended to decrease in the course of time, with highest figures being reported for the Shunzhi reign period, that means the time of the conquest of China. As the following examples may show, Qing period horse prices are also classified in much more detail according to their quality, such as race, age, height, sex, etc.: a mare of eight years, 3 *chi* and 4 *cun* tall, with upright mane and a short tail, was worth 17 silver *liang* and 3 *qian*. Or, a six-year old mare, 3 *chi* and 3 *cun* tall, with an upright mane and a long tail, was worth 19 silver *liang* and 2 *qian*. Another six-year old mare, 3 *chi* and 3 *cun* tall, with a divided (*fen*) mane and a short tail, was worth 19 silver *liang* and 7 *qian*. A three-year old mare, 3 *chi* and 4 *cun* tall, with a divided (*fen*) mane and a long tail, was worth 19 silver *liang* and 3 *qian*.⁶⁵

The official prices recorded for the early Shunzhi reign period (1649) were 18 silver *liang* and 5 *qian* for a superior quality horse, 16 *liang* for a middle quality horse and 12 *liang* for a low quality horse.⁶⁶ The official price recorded for 1726 (Yongzheng 4) was 10 silver *liang* per horse according to the *GanNingQing shilue zhengfu bian*.⁶⁷ For 1733 (Yongzheng 11), the price recorded was only 8 silver *liang* per tribute horse.⁶⁸ But, as an example from the *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli* may show, high quality horses could fetch prices as high as 130 *liang*.⁶⁹ The section on “horse politics” (*mazheng* 馬政) in the *Da Qing huidian zeli* provides changes in prices through the early and mid Qing: in 1733 (Yongzheng 11), for example, the horse price in Zhili, Shanxi, Henan, Xi'an and Gansu as well as in Shandong did not exceed 10 *liang*.⁷⁰ Or, in 1750 (Qianlong 15), the horse price in Guangdong was deducted by 3 *liang*, as there were not sufficient public financial resources in the battalions, and also in Guangxi the price per horse was lowered by 3 *liang* and 17 *liang* was recorded in the accounts.⁷¹

Tribute horses

Right from the beginning of the dynasty, the Mongols especially played a major role in providing the Qing with horses. Kangxi's Mongol policy was to restrict China's intervention on the frontier by encouraging his tributaries to manage their relations by themselves. After the suppression of the revolt of the Three Feudato-

⁶³ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 119, p. 34b (566).

⁶⁴ Jie Xiufen, “Ming Qing chama maoyi zhong de jiage wenti”, p. 39.

⁶⁵ *Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian*, X, pp. 7-14.

⁶⁶ *Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian*, X, pp. 7-14.

⁶⁷ *GanNingQing shilue*, j. 18, p. 23b: one tribute horse offered by tribes with more than 100 households was exchanged for 10 silver *liang*. If the tribe consisted of less than 100 households, every household paid one *qian* of silver as tribute (*mei hu na yin yi qian* 每戶納銀一錢).

⁶⁸ *GanNingQing shilue*, j. 18, p. 24a. As for tribes with less than 100 households, every household received 8 *fen* of silver.

⁶⁹ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 159, p. 45b (178): At the beginning of the Shunzhi reign the prices for horses from Mongolian Kazakhs were fixed. The prices for horses ranged from 130 to 10 *liang*, that of camels from 60 to 15, each being paid differently and as a rule in brocat (*duan* 緞).

⁷⁰ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 119, p. 18b (558).

⁷¹ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 119, pp. 21a-b (559).

ries, he fixed general rules for the policy towards the Mongols and also sent an embassy to Galdan (r. 1671–1697) in response to the latter's request to offer tribute. As Peter C. Perdue has shown, the tribute presentations served as a flexible means of using economic incentives to secure border control. And Kangxi also pressed Galdan to execute tighter control over his tributary envoys.⁷² In 1690, Kangxi personally lead an expedition against Galdan. This was the first of a series of military campaigns against the Zunghars – and enormous quantities of horses were needed.

A general entry on tribute horses is included in the *Qingshi gao* 清史稿:

The sending of tribute horses began right at the beginning of our dynasty, the two banners at Guihuacheng and Tümet sent one hundred tribute horses four times annually. In Shunzhi 3 (1646), Turfan sent 324 horses, afterwards (this quantity) was decreased and Turfan was ordered to offer four Western horses and ten Mongol horses. In Kangxi 8 (1669), Mongols from the outer regions sent tribute horses, and it was not permitted to purchase them along the trade routes; this was (subsequently) prohibited in an edict. In 1691, it was proclaimed that both Tüsiyetü and Sečen could keep their titles of Qayan and offer one white camel and eight white horses as in the beginning; the others did not have to offer nine white animals. In 1696, the Khalkha Mongols sent camels and horses, so many that they could not be counted, to influence Shengzu (i.e. the Kangxi emperor) to destroy Galdan and they would thus be able to gain back their original pasture land. The regular tribute of each local office in Sichuan and the percentage of horses to be paid as taxes were reduced by one or two, the utmost being twelve horses per camp. The quota of regular tribute horses for the seven tribes of the Tibetans in Gansu, Sari Yoghurt, was at most 82 horses per camp and, if it were fewer, (the amount) was reduced to two or three only. In Qianlong 1 (1736), the lowered price of the local office in Sichuan was 12 *liang* per horse, as for warhorses throughout the provinces the regulations were changed following those for horses at postal stations, and to pay 8 silver *liang*, this was written as a permanent order. In 1765, the Kazakh Jin Demür offered horses. It was decreed that their surplus horses should be sent to Yili (Chinese Turkestan), and there should be no trade with any of the regions in Kashgar. And it was ordered that the Kazakh nomads who sue the pasture land of Šarbor should offer horses together with the latter.⁷³

貢馬昉於國初，歸化城土默特二旗，每歲四時貢馬百匹。順治十三年，吐魯番貢三百二十四匹，嗣減令貢西馬四匹，蒙古馬十匹。康熙八年，以邊外蒙古貢馬，沿途抑買，諭嚴禁之。三十年，諭土謝圖、車臣俱留汗號，貢白駝一、白馬八如初，自餘毋以九白進。三十五年，喀爾喀蒙古獻駝馬，多不可計，感聖祖破噶爾丹，得歸原牧地也。四川各土司例貢及折徵馬，各營少者一、二匹，最多十二匹。甘肅唐古特七族西喇古兒例貢馬匹，各營最多者八十二匹，少者遞減至二、三匹。乾隆元年，諭四川土司折價馬每匹納銀十二兩，通省營馬改從驛馬例，納銀八兩，永著為令。三十年，哈薩克沁德穆爾等獻馬。敕其餘馬赴伊犁，毋於喀什噶爾諸地貿易。尋令沙拉伯爾游牧之哈薩克，與沙拉伯爾一體貢馬。

Most of the horses, as mentioned, came from the nomads in Inner and Central Asia. The *Qingshi gao* includes several entries of foreign tribes and nomads sending tribute.⁷⁴

Also the *Baqi tongzhi* contains a passage on tribute horses, which not only provides us with additional information on who sent horses as tribute but also on the procedures following the act of handing over tribute horses:

When the Mongols and the Suolun 索倫 tribe [in Xinjiang] annually send horses and camels as tribute, from the *Lifan yuan* (Court of Colonial Affairs) a memorial is drawn up and sent to the Grand Minister in the *Shangsi yuan* 上駟院 (Palace Stud) who is controlling and testing the imperial horses; imperial guardsmen (then) report to the throne that they could jointly with officials of our department select and examine (the horses). Those which are not selected are returned. As for the accepted ones, (the tribute senders) go to the Storage Office (*kuangchu si* 廣儲司) and according to the regulations receive their reward. Camels are

⁷² Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West*, p. 142.

⁷³ *Qingshi gao*, j. 141, p. 4175.

⁷⁴ Examples can be found in the *Qingshi gao*, j. 141, j. 276, j. 341, j. 517, j. 521, j. 522, j. 523, j. 526 (passim): In Shunzhi 2 (1645), the son of Gushri Qayan (1582–1654), Dalai Batur, sent tribute horses 顧實汗子達賴巴圖爾貢馬至 (j. 522, p. 14447); in Shunzhi 3 (1646), (...) Erdeni Toyin of his tribe sent tribute horses 額爾德尼陀音貢馬至 (j. 521, p. 14397); in Shunzhi 13 (1656), Turfan sent 324 horses 貢馬匹 (j. 141, p. 4175); in Shunzhi 14 (1657), Dörbet Taiji Toyin sent envoys to Kashghari and others via the place of Ejirtu and came to bring tribute horses. In 1658 (Shunzhi 15), Embudaiqing and the son of Qošiji Iszabu again sent Erke to offer horses. 杜爾伯特台吉陀音遣使哈什哈等自鄂齊爾圖所，以貢馬至。十五年，鄂木布岱青和碩齊子伊斯扎布復遣使額爾克貢馬 (j. 523, p. 14474); in Qianlong 1 (1736), Cao Tongwenbu (this may perhaps be the transcription of a Tibetan name; I am very grateful to Liu Yingsheng for providing me with this information) had been a native of Datong chuan; in 1736 (Qianlong 1), he got the position of the chiliarch of Datong chuan and could pass this position on to his descendants; he had to offer twenty-four horses annually with a price reduction of 173 silver *liang*. 曹通溫布，大通川人。乾隆元年，以功補大通川土千戶，世襲。每年應納貢馬二十四匹，共折銀一百七十三兩 (j. 517, p. 14311); in Qianlong 36 (1773), the son of Abu'l Bis (?), Bolad (?), came to offer horses 偕阿布勒畢斯之子博普來貢馬 (j. 341, p. 11095).

sent forth to the Inner Stables, horses to the Six Stables (*liujiu* 六廐) of the Southern Park (*Nanyuan* 南苑) for shepherding. Also the two Mongol banners at Guihua cheng 歸化城 annually send tribute horses, the Kalkha Jebtsundamba Khutughtu 哲卜尊丹巴胡圖克圖 (Mong. Javzandamba Hutagt) annually sends camels and horses; the barbarian monks (*fanseng* 番僧) in the twenty-four temples in the Minzhou guard 岷州衛 in Shaanxi annually send horses; as a rule, these are sent from the *Lifan yuan* and sent forth to every stable to be fed with hay and grain. The responsible Grand Minister leads the imperial guardsmen of our department to proceed to the stables to examine and inspect (the horses) and assess if they are adequate to serve as imperial horses, as inner horses, or public horses, arrange them in this order and make this known. After 1758 (Qianlong 23), the Kazakhs from Xicheng 西城 and all the tribes of Badakhshan 巴達克山 successively returned to allegiance and dispatched envoys to bring tribute horses. The finest and most beautiful ones (among them) were subsequently by imperial decision provided with a good name (*jiaming* 嘉名), the others were distributed among the various stables. And from that time on, horses traded with the Kazakhs were particularly numerous, the quantity per year was not fixed. In Urumqi and Yili large horse herds were established, which were used for all the armies stationed in Xinjiang. Surplus horses were sent to compensate for the shortage in horses in all military units (commands) in inner China.⁷⁵

In addition, also private persons occasionally sent tribute horses. Ten horses and five camels were presented by Sereng in March 1643. On April 1 1643, tribute was presented by the noblemen – *jianggin*, that is military officers serving in the Manchu army – of the Tümet 土墨特 of Köke Qota: the Lieutenant-general Gölüge 古錄格 among other items presented forty horses, Colonel Tobuy 託博克 ten horses, Colonel Tuuqu one stud, nine mares and one horse, Colonel Dorji 多爾濟 fifteen horses, Colonel Baya Norbu 小諾爾布 one horse, Captain Buyantai 布顏代 fifteen horses and two camels, Officer Wawa ten horses, Officer Naqu twelve horses, Officer Bilik 畢禮克 a stud, nine mares and one horse, Officer Usum two horses, Officer Čekčemü 車克車木 five horses, G'abču Lama nine horses, Gelüng Lama five horses, the Buddhist nun from the Jau Temple five horses, Demči Ombu two horses, Lori Ombu one horse, Batu, three horses, and Sidang two horses.⁷⁶ But not all the tribute items were accepted. The documents translated by Nicola Di Cosmo and Dalizhabu Bao also speak repeatedly of horses with saddles, horses with carved saddles, horses with painted saddles, or even a horse with a copper or a tree-bark saddle.⁷⁷

After many years of war with the Zunghars, in autumn 1734, the Yongzheng Emperor sent his top ministers to Zungharai to negotiate a peace that should divide the Khalkha and Zunghar domains. But because the Zunghar leader, Galdan Tseren (r. 1727–1745), preferred another boundary (Khanggai Mountains) than the Qing envoys (line running along the Altai Mountains and the Irtysh River), no peace treaty was signed. Yongzheng, however, started to reduce the number of forces stationed at the boundary. Galdan Tseren subsequently sent his first tribute mission to Beijing in 1735. Emperor Qianlong later used the strong desire of the Zunghars for trade as a tool to obtain a final delineation of the boundary – or, in other words, he blackmailed them. In 1739, regular trade relations were established. This officially regulated tribute trade allowed three types of missions – embassies to Beijing, border trade at Suzhou 素州 in Western Gansu and the “presentation of boiled tea” (*aocha* 熬茶) to the Lamas in Tibet. The Zunghars were allowed to send tribute to the Qing every four years.

However, one has to be aware that the term “tribute” in reality comprised many different kinds of trade and power relationships, both in Ming and Qing times.⁷⁸ These missions were, for example, very much dominated by experienced Central Asian merchants. The caravans consisted of diplomatic envoys, Zunghar officials, herders, merchants, and certainly also Qing spies.

Galdan Tseren (died 1745) had three sons and one daughter. His second son was Tsewang Dorji Namjal (r. 1746–1750) who succeeded him in 1746. In 1747, a third mission was sent to the Qing Court.⁷⁹ The goods traded were worth 164,350 *liang*. In 1750, the Zungars brought goods worth 186,000 *liang*. As the table below may show, horses ranked first besides sheep, camels and cattle.

⁷⁵ *Baqi tongzhi*, j. 41, pp. 742–743.

⁷⁶ Nicola Di Cosmo & Dalizhabu Bao, *Manchu-Mongol Relations on the Eve of the Qing Conquest: A Documentary History* (Leiden, Boston: E. J. Brill, 2003), part 2: “Mongol Tribute Missions to the Qing (1643)”, pp. 171–226, here pp. 178–180.

⁷⁷ Nicola Di Cosmo & Dalizhabu Bao, *Manchu-Mongol Relations*, esp. p. 222.

⁷⁸ Nicola Di Cosmo, “Kirghiz Nomads on the Qing Frontier: Tribute, Trade, or Gift Exchange?”, in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Geographies in Chinese History* (London: Curzon Press, 2003), pp. 351–372; James A. Millward, “Qing Silk-Horse Trade with the Qazaqs”, pp. 1–42.

⁷⁹ For more details see Peter P. Perdue, *China Marches West*, esp. pp. 256–289.

Tribute trade at Beijing and Hami:

Year	No. of traders	Quantity of animals
1735–36	26	237 horses, 344 sheep, 113 camels
1737–36	24	animals
1738–39	42	428 horses, 145 camels
1739–40	65	701 horses, 3,000 sheep 388 camels
1742/2–7	42	484 horses, 5,000 sheep, 715 camels
1742/9	26	146 horses, 5,629 sheep, 114 camels
1743–44		84 horses, 545 sheep, 42 camels
1744–45	38	543 horses, 7669 sheep, 191 camels, 378 cattle
1745–46	28	290 horses, 945 sheep, 95 camels, 28 cattle
1746–47	46	913 horses, 13,700 + sheep, 217 camels, 690 cattle
1748	28	407 horses, 1,267 sheep, 87 camels
1749–50	47	678 horses, 2,585 sheep, 181 camels, 129 cattle
1750–51	52	957 horses, 3,600–3,700 sheep, 346 camels, 156 cattle
1754	33	animals

Source: Zhungar shilue bianxiezu 準噶爾事略編寫組 (ed.), *Zhungar shilue* 準噶爾事略 (Beijing: Beijing renmin chubanshe, 1985), pp. 123-137; Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West*, p. 259.

Tribute trade at Hami and Suzhou:

Year	No. of traders	Quantity of animals
1743–44	122	545 horses, 26,800 sheep, 726 camels, 260 cattle
1746	213	1,628 horses, 40,615 sheep, 726 camels, 2,642 cattle
1748	136	984 horses, 71,505 sheep, 585 camels, 402 cattle
1750	301	1,900+ horses, 156,900+ sheep, 1,000+ camels, 2,200 cattle
1752	200	1,279+ horses, 77,000 sheep, 588 camels, 1,200 cattle

Source: Zhungar shilue bianxiezu (ed.), *Zhungar shilue*, pp. 134-137; Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West*, p. 260.

Boiled tea (*aocha*) missions to Tibet:

Year	No. of traders	Quantity of animals
1741	300	1,716 horses, 7,392 sheep, 2,080 camels, 400 cattle
1743	312	2,300+ horses, 2,800+ sheep, 1,700+ camels
1747	300	3,000+ horses, 3,000 sheep, 2,000 camels

Source: Zhungar shilue bianxiezu (ed.), *Zhungar shilue*, pp. 134-137; Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West*, p. 261.

Transportation and Communication

Horses were of course not only required for the military or for hunting, but also for transportation purposes. Horses were needed by merchants, officials or ordinary people to get from one place to another. An important institution within overland transport and travelling were the postal stations (*yi* 驛 or *yizhan* 驛站). They were sponsored by the government, which also made sure that sufficient horses were provided, as the following examples may show:

The establishment of postal stations commenced in the Former Han Dynasty (206 B.C. – 9 A.D.) and has been continued throughout the dynasties. The Qing, following the Ming system, arranged postal horses reaching a quantity of more than 43,300 in all. The postal system of each province was fixed in 1662 (Kangxi 2). The number of postal horses for all government couriers (*jizouguan* 齎奏官) was five per hedge; honourables (*gong* 公), generals (*jiangjun*), provincial military commanders (*tidu*), supervisors (*tu* 督), and governors (*fu* 撫) receive three horses, regional commanders (*zongbing*), salt control censors (*xunyan yushi* 巡鹽御史) two. This had been requested by the Vice Minister of the Ministry of War (*bingbu shilang* 兵部侍郎), Shi Lin

石麟. The (regulations on) postal stations beyond the borders were fixed in 1669; an imperial envoy was dispatched to all places, and the Court of Colonial Affairs (*lifan yuan* 理藩院) instructed to go to all divisions in Mongolia and proclaim this as a public affair, that beyond the borders horses for postal stations shall be arranged.

In 1696 (Kangxi 35), when troops were raised against Galdan 噶爾丹, postal stations beyond the borders were established at five places, and the required chariots and provisions were transported there. Also the idea of the Lifan yuan was followed to establish a Mongol postal station beyond Zhangjiakou 張家口.⁸⁰

In Kangxi 31 (1692), it was agreed upon and sanctioned that in Xifengkou and other five provinces for every postal station 50 horses are to be arranged, each for a price of 5 silver *liang*; every postal station will (thus) be provided with 250 silver *liang*. In Mongolia, the land has abundant water and grass, so one does not have to provide another sum for fodder. Every year another 125 silver *liang* are provided only for horses which have fallen dead.

康熙三十一年議準喜峰口等五路每驛置驛馬五十匹每馬各給價銀五兩每驛給馬價銀二百五十兩蒙古地方水草滋盛不必再給草料每年惟給與倒斃馬價銀一百二十五兩.⁸¹

Also for their transport to the capital, foreign envoys could rely entirely on the postal network system. The Japanese Nakagawa Tadateru 中川忠英 (1753–1830) in his *Shinzoku kibun* 清俗紀聞 (*Manual on what has been recorded and heard about Qing customs*; 1799), originally designed to function as a kind of travel manual for Japanese in China, provides us with a description of these postal stations.⁸² The postal stations, he tells us, also had a horse doctor (*mayi* 馬醫) and a so-called horse master (*mafu* 馬夫). If, for example, sixty-four horses were raised in a postal station, then there were eight horse masters, every one had to take care of eight horses. Among eight horses there was one to be used by officials, two racehorses for express purposes, one filly horse for the transportation of goods (*baotou ma* 包頭馬), and beyond that three small servant horses (*xiaochai ma* 小差馬). Finally, there was still one horse for miscellaneous purposes (*sanchai ma* 散差馬). In addition to the eight horse masters, there were also four persons who helped to feed the animals. And, if extra horses were required, animals from the ordinary people were used, which were called (*minma* 民馬).⁸³

Veterinary knowledge on horses has a long tradition in China. The famous physician Zhang Zhongjing 張仲景 (c. 150–219) also wrote on the treatment of the six house animals (*Xiang liuxu sanshiliu juan* 相六畜三十六卷) and around the same time the first “Classics of horses” (*Majing* 馬經) appeared. Various other works on equine diseases and their treatment followed – one of the most famous ones perhaps the “*Bole liao ma jing* 伯樂療馬經” from the sixth century⁸⁴ – reaching a peak in the Ming dynasty. Worth mentioning are for example the “*Collection by Heng and Yuan on the treatment of horses*” (*Yuan Heng liaoma ji* 元亨療馬集) from the sixteenth century, which was written by two brothers from Anhui province and based on the

⁸⁰ *Qingshi gao*, j. 141, p. 4176.

⁸¹ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 140, pp. 89b-90a (441-442).

⁸² *Shinzoku kibun* 清俗紀聞 (1799) by Nakagawa Tadateru 中川忠英 (1753–1830), translated by Fang Ke 方克 and Sun Xuanling 孫玄齡. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), j. 10, p. 425-426. Nakagawa Tadateru was a high local official of the Tokugawa government. His manual is a well-illustrated introduction to the customs of former Jiangnan and Zhejiang Provinces; it describes various aspects of daily life, from houses and food to annual observances and ceremonial occasions, accompanied with lively illustrations ranging from a scene at the public bath to many kinds of sweets. The information was mainly obtained through interviews with Chinese merchants who stopped at Nagasaki. The book was designed to give the Japanese a more accurate knowledge of the customs of daily life in Ch'ing-dynasty China, the most important trading partner of Japan. In particular, one of the volumes includes dwellings in the Fujian, Zhejiang and Jiangsu regions, with unbelievably detailed drawings, though it was actually of not much use generally except for the diplomatic information it contained.

⁸³ *Shinzoku kibun*, j. 10, p. 426.

⁸⁴ “Bole 伯樂”, also named Sun Yang 孫陽, lived during the seventh century B.C. He studied the body of horses and gave special attention to its bone structure and the sizes and shapes of its various parts. His excellent understanding of horses enabled him correctly to assess the quality of horses in the markets. The type of horse mostly associated with Bole is the mythic “thousand-li-horse” (*qianli ma* 千里馬) believed capable of running a thousand *li* per day. The famous Tang scholar, Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), laments the failure of the government to recruit talented scholars and comments (*zashuo* 雜說) “only after there is a Bole in the world, will there be thousand-li-horses; thousand-li-horses are common, but only rarely is there a Bole”. For further information on Bole see for example Robert E. Harrist, Jr., “The Legacy of Bole: Physiognomy and Horses in Chinese Painting”, *Artibus Asiae*, LVII, no. 1/2 (1997), pp. 135-156, here p. 136.

classics by Bole, the *Majing* 馬經 with a preface written in 1635 by Zhang Wei 張維⁸⁵, or the (*Xinke zhenyi canbu*) *Majing daquan* 新刻針醫參補馬經大全 (between 1621 and 1644) by Ma Shiwen 馬師問 (fl. 1600). This long tradition of knowledge on the treatment of horses was of course cherished and continued under the Qing. We have, for example, the “*Zengding majing* 增訂馬經”, which explicitly builds upon this tradition.⁸⁶ Treatises, such as the *Lidai mazheng zhi* 歷代馬政志 by Cai Fangbing 蔡方炳 (1626–1709), provide overviews of China’s horse politics from ancient times until the present.⁸⁷ And we know from the *Qingshi gao* that horse doctors had their position within the official system, especially in the army, for example as “*zong mayi guan* 總馬醫官”.⁸⁸ For imperial horses, obviously special Mongol veterinarian officials (*Menggu mayi guan* 蒙古馬醫官) were engaged to take care of equine diseases.⁸⁹ The *Baqi tongzhi* speaks of two Mongol senior doctors (*yizhang* 醫長), eighteen Mongol doctors (*yishi* 醫師), six skin specialists (*laiyi* 癩醫), and twelve Han veterinarians (*shouyi* 獸醫) in the inner stables (*neijiu* 內厰).⁹⁰

Nakagawa Tadateru also provides us with a description on how the animals were fed.⁹¹ Not only green grass and hay were used but also black beans, which were cooked up with fresh water to a mush. The dried mush is put on mats to cool down again. Early in the morning and at night, the horses are fed with approximately four *sheng* of beans and fifteen *jin* of grass and hay. During daytime they only get a little food. At dawn they are again fed as in the morning. As for water, they receive only a little in the morning, the amount of water is increased slightly during day time, and in the evenings they receive plenty of water to drink. A small amount of wheat dregs is mixed into the grass, and when it is very hot weather some water is added as well. Every two or three days, the horses are washed and their bodies groomed clean. After leading them around leisurely (*huanxing* 緩行) for a little while, they are brought back again into the awning, located behind the house and sheltered from sun and wind. During winter, each month a relatively warm day is selected to clean them. As for the racehorses, they cannot be fed with a large amount of food at a time. They first get both a little grass and water and afterwards again and again receive something to eat and to drink.⁹²

Horses in Qing art and ritual

As mentioned above, the importance of horses is also reflected in court art, especially painting. Court painters were often commissioned to record the “dispatching of generals embarking on campaign” (*mingjiang* 命將), in order to popularize them. Horses were included in rituals performed before campaigns, hunts, etc. This can be seen as an encoded reference both to the military power of the Manchus to whom horses were so essential, and to the tradition of Inner Asian regions from which horses were imported and with which the Manchus had close ties. The scrolls produced before the departure of troops under Fuheng 傅恆 (d. 1770) to fight the Jinchuan peoples in western Sichuan in the 1740s is one example. In an ideal way, they record both military preparedness and martial prowess, both of which formed an essential part of Qing culture.⁹³ In painting, horses for the emperor were given personal names and they all belonged to the category of tall, fine horses (*junma* 駿馬).⁹⁴ The famous scrolls of Father Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766)

⁸⁵ There is a German dissertation on a late Ming dynasty horse classic, preface dated to 1635, by Michael Heerde, 馬經 “Pferdeklassiker”: Ein altchinesisches pferdeheilkundliches Werk aus der Ming-Dynastie (München: PhD dissertation, Veterinary Faculty, 1997).

⁸⁶ Author and exact date are unclear, but we know from the information provided in the introduction that it was printed on the orders of the Qing court.

⁸⁷ Cai Fangbing 蔡方炳 (1626–1709), *Lidai mazheng zhi* 歷代馬政志 (ed. Daoguang 1), in *Siku quanshu xuxiu*, fasc. 859, pp. 1–14.

⁸⁸ *Qingshi gao*, j. 119, pp. 3458, 3460, 3474, 3475, and 3476. The sources explicitly speak of “doctor officials” (*yi guan* 醫官).

⁸⁹ *Qingshi gao*, j. 141, p. 4171.

⁹⁰ *Baqi tongzhi*, j. 41, p. 742.

⁹¹ *Shinzoku kibun*, j. 10, p. 455.

⁹² *Shinzoku kibun*, j. 10, p. 455.

⁹³ Joanna Waley-Cohen, “Military Ritual and the Qing Empire”, in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (500–1800) (Leiden, Boston: E. J. Brill, 2002), pp. 405–438, pp. 417 and 421–422. *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vol. 6, section 8, Central Asia.

⁹⁴ Robert E. Harrist, Jr., “The Legacy of Bole: Physiognomy and Horses in Chinese Painting”, pp. 135–156.

and Ignatius Sichelbarth, court painter for the Qianlong Emperor, may serve as examples. Famous also are the horse paintings of Jin Nong 金農 (1687–1773).

Illustrations:

- Pl. 65 Image of Yunli, hereditary prince of Guo 果親王允禮像 by Guiseppe Castiglione
- Pl. 66 *Hongli Hunting* 弘曆射獵圖 by Guiseppe Castiglione
- Pl. 67 One leave from the *Ten Fine Horses* 十駿馬圖 by Jean Denis Attiret
- Pl. 68 *Hongli Shooting Two Deers with One Arrow* 弘曆一發雙鹿圖 by Anonymous
- Pl. 69 *Hongli Shooting a Wolf* 弘曆射狼圖 by Anonymous
- Pl. 70 Battle scenario included in the *Qing shilu* (*Da Qing Gaozong huangdi shilu*, p. 83)

MARITIME EAST ASIA

From Ming to Qing

The Ming period *Shuyu zhoushi lu* 殊域周咨錄 (1574) still mentions Korea, Japan and the Ryūkyū Islands (j. 1, 2, 3, and 4) as countries sending tribute horses.⁹⁵ The Chinese emperor, for example, ordered the purchase of 10,000 horses from Korea in the early Ming.⁹⁶ In Hongwu 5 (1372), a Japanese monk was sent to China to pay tribute. He handed over the “vassal letter” (*biao* 表)⁹⁷ – one of the identification documents required for the tribute missions to China – to the throne on a memorandum tablet (*biaojian* 表箋) and offered horses and local products as tribute.⁹⁸ Japan is even described as a country with “valuable swords and famous horses” (*baodao yu mingma* 寶刀與名馬).⁹⁹ Horses are mentioned in first place in Japan’s (j. 3) and Ryūkyū’s (j. 4) tribute goods, and we know that the Japanese also privately sent tribute horses, tea, textiles, swords, fans and other commodities (*sigong* 私貢) to China.¹⁰⁰

According to the *Ming shi* and *Ming shilu*, the Japanese were already sending tribute horses in the Hongwu period (1368–1398). As a rule, Japan sent twenty, sometimes only ten horses as tribute. In 1453, for example, a Japanese embassy offered twenty horses after an audience with the Ming emperor in Beijing.¹⁰¹ Or, in 1468, twenty horses were sent to China.¹⁰² From these twenty horses, ten are said to have been provided by various *daimyōs*, such as Isshiki 一色, Yamana 山名, Toki 土岐, Hosokawa 細川, Shiba 斯波, Hatakeyama 畠山 etc., one horse per *daimyō*. According to a vassal letter dating from 1401, the first mission sent to China after the appointment of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358–1408) as Shōgun, ten horses were sent as tribute.¹⁰³ In 1403, he even sent twenty horses.¹⁰⁴ But already during the fifteenth century, the

⁹⁵ Yan Congjian 嚴從簡 (*jinshi* 1559) (author), Yu Sili 余思黎 (comment.), *Shuyu zhoushi lu* 殊域周咨錄 (1574) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), j. 1, pp. 11, 21, and 48, j. 2, pp. 52, 55, j. 3, p. 123, j. 3, pp. 126, 166. *Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan* 中外交通史籍叢刊.

⁹⁶ *Shuyu zhoushi lu*, j. 1, p. 16.

⁹⁷ In our project “The East Asian Mediterranean” we finally agreed upon translating this document as “Vasallenbrief” or “vassal letter” respectively, because they had to be brought to China as an identification document by the foreign states bringing tribute to China. Because of the profits that could be made in trade with China, it happened not infrequently that foreign merchants or other persons privately sent tribute missions and incorrectly claimed to be representatives of the court – the so-called imposter missions. With a vassal letter a foreign country also classified itself officially as a vassal of China. For a discussion of these documents, see Oláh Csaba, *Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen China und Japan im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. (Unpublished PhD dissertation).

⁹⁸ *Shuyu zhoushi lu*, j. 2, p. 52.

⁹⁹ *Shuyu zhoushi lu*, j. 2, p. 53.

¹⁰⁰ *Shuyu zhoushi lu*, j. 2, p. 55.

¹⁰¹ “Inbō nittōki 允澎入唐記”, in *Shintei zōho Shiseki shūran* 新訂增補史籍集覽; *Zokuhen* 続編 1 (Tōkyō: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1967), p. 415.

¹⁰² “Boshi nyūminki 戊子入明記”, in *Shintei zōho Shiseki shūran*. *Zokuhen* 1, p. 357.

¹⁰³ Zuikei Shūhō 瑞溪周鳳 (1391?–1473) (author), Tanaka Takeo 田中健夫 (ed. and comment.), (*Shintei*) *Zenrin koku hōki* (新訂) 善隣國寶記 (1470) (Tōkyō: Shūeisha, 1995), p. 108. *Nihon shiryō* 日本史料 For a list of Japanese tribute to China during this time, cf. Oláh Csaba, *Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen China und Japan im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (unpublished PhD dissertation).

quantity of horses sent as tribute was gradually decreasing. In 1434 and 1451 again twenty horses were sent as tribute, yet in 1475 and 1483 only four each time.¹⁰⁵ Oláh Csaba cites yet another source, the *Inryōken nichu roku* 蔭涼軒日録 by Kikei Shinzui 季瓊真蘂 (d. 1469). According to that, a Japanese once asked a Chinese official if China did have at its disposal enough horses and sulphur. The Chinese official replied that this was not the case, but that China would receive sufficient horses and sulphur from the Ryūkyūs so that it was not necessary for Japan to send horses as tribute.¹⁰⁶ Also the *Da Ming huidian* mentions horses exported to China from Japan.¹⁰⁷ But, as a rule, Japanese horses most probably served more as gifts and not commodities.

The situation changed during the Qing dynasty. Then, except for the tribes and countries from the steppe regions north and northwest of China, horses are, as a rule, no longer mentioned as tribute from Asian countries. Chinese entries on the import of horses from not only Japan, but also from Korea or the Ryūkyūs too become very rare. The peace treaty between Korea and the new Manchu rulers of China, agreed upon under extreme pressure from the Manchus, determined the products Korea had to send to China as tribute. Among these were gold, silver, ox horn, leopard and deerskins, tea, paper, mats, several kinds of fabrics, and even rice – but no longer horses. Horses are mentioned, on the other hand, as gifts to members of Korean embassies, the price of one horse being equivalent to 20 to 24 silver taels. Four horses with saddles cost 176 silver taels or 528 copper taels. Along border markets cows instead were purchased from the Korean merchants.¹⁰⁸ The *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli* even forbids Koreans to come to Liaoning to trade for large horses:

In Qianlong 12 (1747), it was memorialized and agreed upon that in Liaoning province Koreans are strictly forbidden to purchase large horses (*da ma* 大馬). Originally, (this trade in horses) had a profound significance (*shenyi* 深意).¹⁰⁹ Nowadays, Koreans come to the capital and frequently purchase large horses, which they subsequently take back. One should order the Left and Right Wing Units (of the Imperial Guardsmen) to forbid this and not permit Koreans to carry out these purchases. In addition, the tax station at Shanhaiguan as well as other border stations should look out, if there are any interpreters scheming for wealth and purchasing (the horses) acting on behalf (of Koreans), and seize them.¹¹⁰

An entry in the *Qingshi gao* even claims that in 1747 Koreans were generally prohibited from purchasing horses (*jin Chaoxian mai ma* 禁朝鮮買馬).¹¹¹

Horses, especially large and fine ones, were not only required for warfare, but generally highly valued throughout the East Asian countries. Consequently, fine horses were presented as gifts to rulers and aristocrats. And we also have examples of horses, veterinarians and equine knowledge being smuggled across the East Asian waters.

Qing law prohibited the private export of horses overseas, but we have several examples of horses being privately shipped to Japan: a certain Yi Fujiu 伊孚九, younger brother of Yi Daoji 伊韜吉, in 1719, used the trade permission of his elder brother and secretly shipped horses to Japan. Or, horses were being gathered on the Zhoushan 舟山 archipelago to be shipped to Japan from there.¹¹² Chinese veterinarian knowledge and equestrian skills were also highly valued in Japan at that time. Already in 1721, one physician from Suzhou

¹⁰⁴ *Zenrin koku hōki*, p. 112.

¹⁰⁵ *Zenrin koku hōki*, pp. 218, 224, 198, and 238.

¹⁰⁶ Oláh Csaba, *Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen China und Japan im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (unpublished PhD dissertation).

¹⁰⁷ Shen Shixing 申時行 (1535–1614) *et al.* (comp.), *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 (1587), 5 vols. (Taipei: Huawen shuju, 1964), III, j. 105, p. 5b (1587). *Juan* 107 to 113 provide names of numerous states and peoples in the west and northwest of China who sent horses as tribute; see also Charlotte von Verschuer (author), Kristen Lee Hunter (trans.), *Across the Perilous Sea: Japanese Trade with China and Korea from the Seventh to the Sixteenth Centuries* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 2006), p. 163. *Cornell East Asia Series*, 133.

¹⁰⁸ Chun Hae-jong, “Sino-Korean Tributary Relations in the Ch’ing Period”, pp. 101, 103 and 110, notes 49 and 50.

¹⁰⁹ This probably refers to the importance of tribute horses from Korea during the Ming.

¹¹⁰ *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, j. 119, p. 34a (566).

¹¹¹ *Qingshi gao*, j. 141, p. 4174.

¹¹² Ōba Osamu 大庭脩, *Tokugawa Yoshimune to Kōki tei: Sakoku ka de no Nitchū kōryū* 徳川吉宗と康熙帝: 鎖国下での中日交流 (Tōkyō: Taishūkan, 1999), pp. 253–254.

蘇州, Chen Zhenxian 陳振先, and one from Tingzhou 汀州 in Fujian (later he lived in Ningbo), Zhu Laizhang 朱來章, had come to Japan. In 1725, Zhu Laizhang also helped his elder brother, Zhu Peizhang 朱佩章, a copper merchant, to get to Japan. Zhu Peizhang was also involved in getting horse specialists to Japan. In 1726 (*kyōhō* 11), he reached Nagasaki on board the ship no. 33 belonging to his son, Zhu Yunchuan 朱允傳. He had promised to bring equestrian archers to Japan who, as he explained, would come with one of the following ships. But after the archers had not arrived by the following year in the 6th month, Zhu Peizhang was forced to leave Nagasaki. Only about one week after he had left (1727, 21st day of the 6th month), the archers Shen Dacheng 沈大成 and Chen Cairuo 陳采若¹¹³ as well as the horse doctor Liu Jingxian 劉經先 reached Nagasaki.¹¹⁴ A passage in a manuscript entitled *Tangma chengfang buyi* 唐馬乘方補遺 (Jap. *Karauma norikata ho'i; Supplement on Chinese Horse Riding*) held by the Naikaku bunko 内閣文庫 in Japan includes the following information:

Zhu Peizhang attempted to bring with him (to Japan) in the same vessel a man learned in riding and raising horses by the name of Shen Dacheng. But because *it was forbidden to leave the country with someone capable in martial arts* (my emphasis), numerous rumors began to circulate, and they postponed their departure. Zhu Peizhang left (China) first by himself and Shen Dacheng agreed to follow him on a subsequent vessel. The latter became further and further delayed, and Zhu Peizhang was eventually ordered (by the Japanese authorities) to return home alone. His younger brother Zhu Laizhang worried about him. Shen Dacheng was not the only man skilled in archery and horses; there were in fact men even more talented than he. He selected Chen Cairuo and escorted him together with the equine doctor Liu Jingxian on a vessel number 20 in the year of the sheep (1727) under the captain Zhong Qintian 種觀天. Both came (to Japan) on this ship. Zhu Peizhang wrote letters to a man named Chen Liangxuan 陳良選 in which he requested the transport of Shen Dacheng to Japan.¹¹⁵

This quotation not only informs us about the importance of knowledge in martial arts, horsemanship and equine skills in general. It is also an excellent example of how Japanese sources may supplement brief and uncontextual statements in Chinese sources. Zhong Qintian 種觀天 is for example only briefly mentioned in Chinese sources as a maritime merchant smuggling bows, doctors, monks and maps to Japan (cf. below). One very informative Chinese source concerning the problems of China's relations with Japan during this time period and which also includes entries on smuggling is the *Shizong Xianhuangdi zhupi yuzhi* 世宗憲皇帝硃批諭旨. Accordingly, Chen Liangxuan 陳良選, a merchant from Fujian, took the Company Commander (*qianzong* 千總), Shen Dacheng, a native of Guangdong but resident in Ningbo, to Japan to teach martial arts.¹¹⁶

Also Zhu Laizhang is repeatedly mentioned in the *Shizong Xianhuangdi zhupi yuzhi*. He enjoyed a very good reputation in Nagasaki, because he had once cured the illness of the local *daimyō* of Nagasaki and later also acted as a merchant in Sino-Japanese trade. He was generously rewarded and permitted to go anywhere he liked in Japan, while other Chinese merchants were under strict surveillance. Due to his knowledge of Japan, in late 1728, Zhu Laizhang was even sent to Japan as a kind of secret agent in order to find out why the Japanese trading policy concerning the exportation of copper had become so restrictive.¹¹⁷ Such examples may provide a first insight into the East Asian merchant networking in the eighteenth century.

¹¹³ Xu Shihong 徐世虹, *Jianghu shidai RiZhong mihua* 江戸時代日中秘話 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), pp. 139-140. This is a translation of Ōba Osamu's work 大庭脩, *Edo jidai no Nitchū hiwa* 江戸時代の日中秘話 (Tōkyō: Tōyō shoten, 1980). Chen Cairuo was thirty-five years old and came from Hangzhou, Zhejiang; Shen Dacheng was thirty-two years old and came from Ningbo. Both were skilled at archery in horsemanship.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Ōba Osamu, *Tokugawa Yoshimune to Kōki tei*, pp. 254-256, according to the *Tsūkō ichiran* 通航一覽, Hayashi Fukusai 林復齋 (1800-1859, ed.), (Osaka: Seibundō shuppan, 1967). This Japanese source is indispensable for obtaining a better insight into the picture of and attitudes towards China in Tokugawa Japan. We have recently purchased a copy for our East Asian Maritime History project, but prior to that I have been using an online database with images of the original manuscript; cf. <http://www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller>.

¹¹⁵ *Tangma chengfang buyi* 唐馬乘方補遺 (Jap. *Karauma norikata ho'i; Supplement on Chinese Horse Riding*), in *ZSSXDJ*, pp. 289-360, here pp. 352-353.

¹¹⁶ *Shizong Xianhuangdi zhupi yuzhi* 世宗憲皇帝硃批諭旨, j. 174, section 9, pp. 31b-32a, in *SKQS*, fasc. 423. According to the *Shizong Xianhuangdi zhupi yuzhi* Shen Dacheng in reality belonged to a family named Yang 楊.

¹¹⁷ *Shizong Xianhuangdi zhupi yuzhi*, j. 174, section 8, pp. 53a-54a, in *SKQS*, fasc. 423. According to Ōba Osamu, *Tokugawa Yoshimune to Kōki tei*, p. 255, Zhu Laizhang, too, was skilled in archery and horsemanship.

The *Tongmun hwigo* 通文會考 (Ch. *Tongwen huikao*, published 1787) mentions horses as items being smuggled.¹¹⁸ According to the report by the governor-general of Zhejiang, Li Wei 李衛 (1687?–1738)¹¹⁹, thirty-three smugglers were caught during the four months from September to December 1728. They had been smuggling bows, doctors, monks and maps. The *Qingchao Rouyuan ji* 清朝柔遠記 provides us with the information that, in Yongzheng 6 (1728), the maritime merchants Zhong Qintian 種覲天和 Shen Shunchang 沈順昌 had in their possession Japanese trade certificates. Zhong repeatedly took the Military Selectee, Zhang Canruo 張淦若, from Hangcheng 杭城 to Japan as an archery trainer. With these transactions, he annually made a few thousand silver ingots (*de yin shuqian* 得銀數千). Shen Shunchang on one occasion not only took archery to Japan but also a veterinary doctor from Suzhou, named Song 宋, who was to treat horses.¹²⁰ A certain Guo Yuguan 郭裕觀 from Xiamen smuggled a monk and a horse to Japan.¹²¹ Consequently, at least from time to time, horses, archery, veterinary knowledge, in this case a horse doctor, as well as knowledge in archery was secretly “exported” to Japan. One older Company Commander (*qian-zong*) with long hair from Guangdong, it is said, even annually received several thousand gold pieces from the Japanese for nailing and constructing more than two hundred warships (*dingzao zhanchuan erbai yu hao* 錠造戰船二百餘號) and training sailors.¹²² But horses, as a rule, together with maps, military equipment, as well as books on law and statecraft, belonged to the commodities prohibited to be taken across the border.¹²³ Because of all these smuggling activities, Emperor Kangxi eventually only permitted merchants of the Imperial Household Department (*neishang* 內商) to conduct trade in the Eastern Ocean (*Dongyang maoyi*).¹²⁴ Anyhow, rumours had it that the Japanese “enticed worthless Chinese merchant fellows to teach them mechanical (and martial?) skills” (*fengwen Riben gouyou Zhongguo wulai shangmin wang bi jiaoxi jiyi* 風聞日本勾誘中國無賴商民往彼教習技藝), whereupon merchant vessels were strictly prohibited to sail abroad.¹²⁵

JAPAN

In Japan, Chinese skilled in horsemanship and equine knowledge not infrequently received great honours and could even make good careers. Chen Cairuo, Shen Dacheng and Liu Jingxuan, whom I have introduced in the last subsection, were all generously received in Japan. They had come to Japan on the order of Tokugawa Yoshimune 德川吉宗 (1684–1751), who was particularly fond of fine horses. On the 29th day of the 6th month 1727, the Nagasaki Magistrate (*bugyō*) ordered the interpreters from Sakaki 彭城 Tōjiemon 藤治右衛門 downwards to take care of them. Consequently, on the 10th day of the 7th month they were allowed to live in the Finance Building at Sakurababa 櫻馬場 in Nagasaki together with three servants – Yu Tiancheng 俞天成, Guo Dawei 郭大爲 and Li Yaqing 李亞慶. They were allowed to move about relatively freely, could visit temples and go sightseeing in the city. The same month, Tomita Matazaemon 富田又左衛門 paid them a visit from Edo and subsequently asked them all manner of questions in their residence. The record of these questions is preserved in a document entitled *Taigo ki roku* 對語驥錄 (*Questions and Answers concerning Horses*), which is also preserved in the Naikaku bunko in Japan. Also a number of other accounts concerning horses are kept by the archive, such as the *Karauma norikata kikigaki* 唐馬乘方聞書 (*Notes on How to Ride a Chinese Horse*), the already mentioned *Karauma norikata ho'i*, the *Basho* 馬書 (*On Horses*),

¹¹⁸ Chun Hae-jong, “Sino-Korean Tributary Relations in the Ch’ing Period”, in Immanuel C. Y. Hsü (ed.), *Readings in Modern Chinese History* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 90–112, pp. 93 and 100.

¹¹⁹ He has a brief entry in Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period*, II, pp. 720–721.

¹²⁰ Wang Zhichun 王之春 (b. 1842) (author), Zhao Chunzhen 趙春震 (comment.), *Qingchao Rouyuan ji* 清朝柔遠記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), j. 4, p. 72 and 76. *Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan*. The same information is also included in Anonymous, *Yangqiu shengbi* 陽秋賸筆 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1999), p. 229. *Qingdai yeshi congshu* 清代野史叢書.

¹²¹ *Qingchao Rouyuan ji*, j. 4, p. 76; *Shizong Xianhuangdi zhupi yuzhij*, j. 174, section 9, p. 32a.

¹²² *Qingchao Rouyuan ji*, j. 4, p. 72.

¹²³ *Qingchao Rouyuan ji*, j. 4, pp. 72–76.

¹²⁴ *Qingchao Rouyuan ji*, j. 4, p. 72.

¹²⁵ *Qingchao Rouyuan ji*, j. 4, p. 74.

which touch upon a wide variety of topics concerning horses – how to judge the quality of a horse, how to breed them, how to treat them medically, how to train archers, etc.¹²⁶ Yet, the knowledge covered in all these questions and answers had little impact on society as a whole, as the manuscripts were kept secretly.¹²⁷ Such examples, however, can provide evidence for the great interest in horses and martial arts among the Japanese aristocratic and ruling élite. And they provide evidence for that, at least in East Asia, Chinese horsemanship and equine knowledge were obviously considered as superior to their own Japanese tradition. But, as the export of horses and martial skills from China was officially prohibited, this trade and smuggling remained a tricky matter, and references in the sources are, thus, not very frequent.

Scattered information on the smuggling of horses from China to Japan can also be found in the Dutch *Deshima Diaries*. One entry in the diary of Opperhoofd P. Boockesteijn (22 March 1729), for example, states: “I have been told that in China, eighteen skippers and merchants have been put in prison because of their alleged involvement in the export of horses and an elephant to Japan”.¹²⁸

In the eighteenth century, the Dutch also repeatedly sent mostly between one and five grazing horses (*bokuba* 牧馬) from Batavia to Nagasaki. As Tokugawa Yoshimune particularly liked fine horses, it is therefore not surprising that entries for Dutch presenting horses at Nagasaki are especially frequent during his reign period.¹²⁹ If members of the Japanese aristocratic and ruling élite eventually preferred Dutch or Chinese equine knowledge would be an interesting question to examine. We do have examples that the Bakufu ordered large horses (*da ma*) from the Dutch.¹³⁰ Yoshimune also laid great emphasis on equestrian skills and had, for example, Dutch masters perform their abilities on horseback.¹³¹ In 1676 (*gempō* 4), 3rd month, 15th day, there were two donkeys among the tribute items of the Dutch. The year before, 1675, on the 6th day of the 12th month, Tokugawa Mitsukuni 德川光圀 (1628–1700), received twelve Dutch horses.¹³² The *Deshima Diaries* from time to time also mention Dutch exports of Perian horses to Japan.¹³³ According to the *Nihon basei shi*, further evidence that foreign horses were imported into Japan is provided by the *Sendai sanba enkaku shi* 仙臺産馬沿革誌 (1890) by Umemori Iku 梅森郁.¹³⁴

From time to time horses were also shipped to Japan as official gifts from more Western regions. On May 29 1587, four Japanese envoys arrived at Goa. They had visited Portugal and left Lisbon on April 13 1586 and were on their return journey to Japan. In Goa, the local commander, Don Jorge De Menezes, is said to have provided them with a small galleon and the Viceroy, Don Duarte, presented them with four fine horses so that they could move around freely – everything according to King Philip II’s order. The horses were fine Arabian horses, and the Japanese envoys intended to take at least a few of them home to Japan as a present to

¹²⁶ A veritable gold mine concerning veterinarian knowledge and other texts related to horses and horsemanship transferred from China to Japan, is a volume edited by Ōba Osamu 大庭脩, *Kyōhō jidai no Nitchū kankei shiryō* 2 享保時代の日中關係資料 2 <Shushi san kyōdai shū 朱氏三兄弟集>. *Kinsei Nitchū kōshō shiryō shū* 3 (Kyōto: Kansai daigaku shuppansha, 1995), pp. 109–153. *Kansai daigaku Tōzai gaku jutsu kenkyūjo shiryō shūkan* 關西大學東西學術研究所資料集刊 9-3 (henceforthwith ZSSXDJ). In addition to the *Karauma norikata ho’i*, the *Karauma norikata kikigaki* 唐馬乘方聞書 (*Verbatim notes on Chinese Horse Riding*, in ZSSXDJ, pp. 233–287), it includes the *Ba’i Tōjin ryōjōhō kakitsuke* 馬醫唐人療治方書付 (*Study of the healing methods of the Chinese equine medicine*) by Chen Cairuo and Shen Dacheng (ZSSXDJ, pp. 155–231), the *Taigo ki roku* 對語驥錄 (ZSSXDJ, pp. 363–377).

¹²⁷ Ōba Osamu, cf. Xu Shihong, *Jianghu shidai RiZhong mihua*, pp. 139–140.

¹²⁸ Paul van der Velde & Rudolf Bachofner, *The Deshima Diaries: Marginalia 1700–1740* (Tokyo: The Japan-Netherlands Institute, 1992), p. 352. *Deshima Series*, ed. by J. L. Blussé and W. G. J. Rummelink, *Japan-Netherlands Institute Scientific Publications of the Japan-Netherlands Institute* No. 12.

¹²⁹ I have selected only a few examples from the eighteenth century; the list is consequently far from complete. Cf. Taigai kankeishi sōgō nempyō henshū iinkai 対外關係史総合年表編集委員会 (ed.), *Taigai kankeishi sōgō nempyō* 対外關係史総合年表 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1999), pp. 772 (1725 and 1726), 774 (1727 and 1729), 776 (1730), 778 (1734), 780 (1738).

¹³⁰ Taigai kankeishi sōgō nempyō henshū iinkai (ed.), *Taigai kankeishi sōgō nempyō*, p. 770 (1723). Other examples speak for example of Tokugawa Yoshimune watching the Dutch riding horses at a horse camp (e.g. 1730 and 1735, cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 776 and 778).

¹³¹ Ōba Osamu, *Tokugawa Yoshimune to Kōki tei*, p. 252.

¹³² *Nihon basei shi*, II, pp. 48–49.

¹³³ See, for example, *Deshima Diaries. Marginalia 1700–1740*, pp. 327, 351, 356–7.

¹³⁴ *Nihon basei shi*, II, p. 47.

be offered to Toyotomi Hideyoshi 丰臣秀吉 (1536–1598). So two of the horses found space on the ship taking them further to Malacca and Macao, where they arrived on July 1588. The two horses, together with their accessories, are said to have cost more than 2,000 gold *pardão*.¹³⁵ Due to the political situation in Japan, they did not proceed immediately back home but eventually reached Nagasaki together with the Jesuit Alessandro Valignano 范禮安 (1539–1606) on July 21 1590. The horses were treated as tribute brought by Valignano to the Japanese authorities, but apparently only one horse survived. Father Luís Fróis (1532–1597), the first Jesuit who personally met Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582), later wrote a *História do Japão* which covers the years 1549–93.¹³⁶ In his history the surviving horse is described in great detail:

At the front, a beautifully adorned horse strode forward. The horse was not only beautiful, but large as well, so it drew everyone's attention, as was always the case whenever it appeared. In fact, any Japanese horse looked pathetic compared to that horse.... [Hideyoshi] and the other samurai were extremely impressed by the beauty, size and speed of the horse and praised it vociferously.¹³⁷

We even have an example of Chinese envoys bringing a horse to Japan. In 1594 (*bunroku* 3), two Ming Chinese envoys came to Edo, the Head Envoy and Assistant Regional Commander, Xie Yongting 謝用楅, and the Vice Envoy, You Jixu 遊擊徐, and among other things presented Tokugawa Ieyasu 德川家康 (1543–1616) a horse as a gift. This horse was described as different from those of Japan, namely as tall and possessing outstanding abilities.¹³⁸

In the winter of 1599 (*keichō* 4), Shimazu Yoshihisa 島津義久 (龍伯), an opponent of Toyotomi Hideyoshi 丰臣秀吉 (1536–1598), sent Ieyasu a Korean horse as a present. This is recorded in the *Hosokawa Tadaoki gunkōki* 細川忠興軍功記 (*Record of the military successes of Hosokawa Tadaoki*). The entry says that it was an imperial horse with something tied around the nostrils – apparently a usual habit in order to give the outer appearance of the horses more dignity.¹³⁹

We also have examples of Japanese horses being shipped to countries in Southeast Asia. In 1605 (*keichō* 10), 9th month, 19th day: the Cambodian king told the Japanese merchant, Nagaishirō Uemon 長井四郎右衛門, that he wished to buy good Japanese horses, copper, iron, swords and mirrors and gave him a letter to be handed over to the Japanese ruler. What the king had in mind were horses of a height of about 5 feet (*chi*). In his letter he noted: “In my country there are many horses, but because they are small, they are not adequate for use: I have heard that your honourable country produces good horses. I wish to purchase two of a height of 5 *chi*.” He mentioned beeswax and tiger skins as local products and asked for excellent Japanese copper, iron, swords, mirrors, and horses. The Japanese court thereupon replied to this “notably unexpected letter”:

Although your country lies millions of *li* by sea route away, the people of both our countries annually come and go and, when Japanese merchants get into distress, they have the possibility to consider thoroughly right and wrong and can use the constitution of your honoured country. Long swords, flank swords (*wakigatana* 脇刀) shall, therefore, be bestowed in order to express our congratulatory and ceremonial feelings; this and all other items will be sent with the next ship.¹⁴⁰

Consequently, the request of the Cambodian king was fulfilled and in 1608, three horses were sent to Cambodia.

¹³⁵ Cf. http://www.uwosh.edu/faculty_staff/earns/yuki.html (15.09.06).

¹³⁶ Georg Schurhammer, *Die Geschichte Japans von Luis Frois: Nach der Handschrift der Ajudabibliothek in Lissabon, übersetzt und kommentiert von G. Schurhammer* (Leipzig: Asia Major, 1926).

¹³⁷ Cf. http://www.uwosh.edu/faculty_staff/earns/yuki.html (15.09.06).

¹³⁸ Teikoku keiba kyōkai 帝国競馬協會編 (ed.), *Nihon basei shi* 日本馬政史, 5 vols. (Tōkyō: Hara shobō 原書房, 1981–1982), II, p. 47.

¹³⁹ *Nihon basei shi*, II, p. 47.

¹⁴⁰ *Nihon basei shi*, II, pp. 43–44.

In 1621 (*genna* 7), Thailand also received three saddled horses from Japan.¹⁴¹ In a kingly edict from Thailand which reached Nagasaki, again the commercial and friendly relations between both countries were emphasized:

We have heard that in your honourable place famous horses (*mingma* 名馬) are produced. The king of our country longs very much for such horses, but sees no way of acquiring any.¹⁴²

So he ordered that an envoy should buy two or three. Subsequently, in 1621, 1626, and 1629 Thailand received eleven horses in all from Japan.

THE RYŪKYŪS

As Chang Pin-ts'un and Roderich Ptak have shown, during the early Ming period especially some quantities of horses were shipped to China as tribute from the Ryūkyūs.¹⁴³ Already in 1374, the Hongwu Emperor sent Li Hao 李浩, a Vice Minister of Justice, and the interpreter Liang Ziming 梁子名 to purchase horses on the Ryūkyūs (*jiu qi guo shi ma* 就其國市馬) in exchange for 100 bolts of coloured damask, 50 bolts of gauze, 50 bolts of fabrics, 69,000 pieces of ceramics (*taoqi* 陶器), and 990 iron pots.¹⁴⁴ Only a few years later, in 1383, the eunuch Liang Min 梁珉, was sent to the Ryūkyūs to buy 683 horses (*yi huobi wang Liuqiu yi ma* 以貨幣往琉球易馬).¹⁴⁵ During Ming times, according to Chang Pin-ts'un, most of the Ryūkyūan tribute horses had been distributed among the postal stations in mountainous Fujian, as they could manage very well in hilly regions. According to the *Lidai bao'an*, they were handed over to the special agency of the Palace Stud (*Shangsi yuan* 上駟院).¹⁴⁶ But even during Ming times, although the horses were not inexpensive, the Ryūkyūs did not produce many and thus the economic potential of the Sino-Ryūkyūan horse trade remained very limited.¹⁴⁷

But during Qing times, the Ryūkyūs were no longer important as a source for horses. In 1681, horses were even deleted from the list of regular tribute items:

In 1679, Tei (= Shō Tei 尚貞, r. 1669–1709) dispatched a second official in order to supplement the regular tribute sent in 1678. According to the old regulations, the tribute items consisted of gold and silver cans, gold and silver ornamented boxes, gold jars for wine and seaweeds (?), coloured painted surrounding screens splashed with gold, fans splashed with gold, fans splashed with silver, painted fans, banana cloth, hemp cloth, red flowers (?), pepper, sappan wood, waist swords, fire swords, spears and lances, helmets and chainmail, horses, saddles, silk, floss silk, and conch plates, and there was no fixed amount as for the quantity of extra goods to be offered. In 1680, the second official came to offer tribute, but the Emperor (i.e. Kangxi) ordered that he should be exempt from bringing tribute. Afterwards, frequently tribute was offered, only **horses**, prepared sulphur, conch shells, red copper and the like.....In addition, **tribute horses** were deleted from the list of regular tribute items in 1681. This was made known as the rule.

十八年，貞遣陪臣補進十七年正貢。舊例貢物有金銀罐、金銀粉匣、金缸酒海、泥金彩畫圍屏、泥金扇、泥銀扇、畫扇、蕉布、苧布、紅花、胡椒、蘇木、腰刀、火刀、鎗、盔甲、馬、鞍、絲、綿、螺盤，加貢之物無定額。十九年，陪臣來貢，帝俱令免進。嗣後常貢，惟馬及熟硫磺、海螺殼、紅銅等物。...又常貢內免其貢馬，著為例。¹⁴⁸

This statement would imply that at least until the early Kangxi reign, the Ryūkyūs apparently still sent horses as tribute and that they were deleted from the list only after 1681. There is no reason provided why

¹⁴¹ Tokugawa jikki 德川實紀 according to *Nihon basei shi*, II, pp. 44-45.

¹⁴² *Nihon basei shi*, II, p. 44.

¹⁴³ Chang Pin-ts'un, *Chinese Maritime Trade: The Case of Sixteenth Century Fuchien (Fukien)* (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1983, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1983), p. 174ff; Roderich Ptak, "Pferde auf See", pp. 199-233.

¹⁴⁴ This information is also included in the *Yanshan tang bieji* 弇山堂別集 by Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (Ming), annot. by Wei Lianke 魏連科 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, second edition 2006), j. 89, pp. 1707-1708. *Zhongguo lishi wenji congkan* 中國歷史文集叢刊.

¹⁴⁵ *Ming Taizu shilu* 明太祖實錄, j. 95, pp. 3a-b (1645-1646) (*Hongwu* 7, 12th month, *yimao*) and j. 156, p. 4a (2429) (*Hongwu* 16, 92th month, *yiwei*). Edition edited and annotated by the Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院 歷史語言研究所.

¹⁴⁶ *Lidai bao'an* 歷代寶案 (*Precious documents of successive generations*, Jp. *Rekidai hōan*), 15 vols. (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue, 1972), here I/6, p. 214.

¹⁴⁷ Chang Pin-ts'un, *Chinese Maritime Trade*, p. 174.

¹⁴⁸ *Qingshi gao*, j. 526, p. 14618.

the Kangxi Emperor undertook this step. However, we may assume that, as the Manchus obtained most of their horses, both for use in war and for postal stations, from Inner Asia, there was no longer any necessity to import small horses from the Ryūkyūs. And land transport was probably not only easier – there are no statistics about how many horses died during sea transportation, but it seems plausible that a sea voyage was even more stressful for the animal than long trips over land¹⁴⁹ – but perhaps even cheaper. Against the background that the Kangxi Emperor had anyhow stationed greater numbers of horses in Fujian to be used in battle (against the rebels of the Three Feudatories and the Zheng clan) and taking into account that Ryūkyūan horses could hardly be used in warfare as they were too small, it seems plausible that the Kangxi Emperor eventually abandoned the tribute of horses from the Ryūkyūs.

In 1719, a Chinese investiture mission went to the Ryūkyū Islands under the supervision of Hai Bao 海寶 and Xu Baoguang 徐葆光 (1671–1723/1740). Xu Baoguang left a report on this mission, which includes a brief note that horses and sulphur are traded (*qi guo shi ma ji liuhuang* 其國市馬及硫磺) on the island as well as a description of the local horses:

The horses are not different from those in China. Those which are seven to eight *chi* tall are extremely rare. They walk well; on mountainous roads, they go up and down over steep paths; in sand or gravel one does not see them stumbling. This is because they are used to that. Going up a hill, when they have to wade through water, they gallop. In that region the winters are mostly warm and the grass does not wither. The horses thus eat fresh food the whole year round; they do not know stables or beans. This is why, although the households in the villages are extremely poor, yet they all raise horses. Whenever they have a business, they wish to use them. When the business is over, they scatter and return to their villages. Among the farmers there are also some who plough their fields with horses.¹⁵⁰

If the entry “*qi guo shi ma ji liuhuang*” can be interpreted in the sense that horses, as well as sulphur, were still sold abroad, is difficult to assess. If this was the case, it most probably happened as a kind of private trade. As a matter of fact, horses were no longer an official tribute item to China after 1681.

CONCLUSION

It is evident that horses were occasionally sent by ship from one East Asian port to another. But on the other hand, it is also true that the quantities involved were rather small. Nevertheless, the fact that some exchange took place in the period considered here shows that horse transports on sea routes formed one element within a complex system of maritime links which had already come into existence at an earlier point in time.

That horse shipments from and to China were not the rule during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries should perhaps not be surprising as, on the one hand, the Manchus, themselves a people with a strong and influential horse culture, simply had much easier access to much better horses through their tribute and trade relations with inner Asian nomadic peoples. A supply of lower quality horses from overseas, such as in the early Ming period from the Ryūkyūs, was consequently no longer required. The Mongols especially played a major role in the provision of Qing China with horses.

On the other hand, we cannot overlook the fact that transports of both horses and people skilled in horsemanship did take place across the East Asian waters. The aristocratic and ruling élite in Japan especially was greatly interested in obtaining people skilled in equine knowledge, martial arts and equine medicine from China. The examples presented here attest to the importance horses played during the time period investigated. And they suggest that, at least as far as East Asia was concerned, the equine knowledge existent in China was obviously considered superior to surrounding countries' own traditions. Certainly, “horses or horse-specialists on sea” were not the rule, and many horses that crossed the oceans and that are mentioned in the sources were exchanged for prestige purposes or presented as gifts. The classical high

¹⁴⁹ There is no doubt that not few horses passed away during long overland journeys or were half starved when they reached their destination and had first to be fattened up again before being ready for battle or war. Cf. A. Millward, “Qing Silk-Horse Trade with the Qazaqs”, p. 5. But generally speaking, they are more apt to survive long overland journeys.

¹⁵⁰ *Zhongshan chuanxin lu* 中山傳信錄 by Xu Baoguang 徐葆光 (1721), *Guojia tushuguan cang Liuqiu ziliao huibian* 國家圖書館藏琉球資料彙編, vol. 2, (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2000), pp. 1-588, p. 202 and 517-518.

riding horse from Arabia, for example, continued to be a welcome luxury item as a gift to rulers or as a rare tribute item.

But the examples clearly show that horses were at the same time not only shipped from one Asian country to another to serve as gifts for members of the ruling élite. During times when horses were highly valued both for practical military and for luxury and prestige purposes equestrian skills, veterinarian knowledge, and horses remained a commodity much in demand throughout East Asia – a fact which is substantiated by various examples we possess about secret trade and the smuggling in horses and any kind of “horse specialists”.

APPENDIX

Year	Direction of trade	Additional information	Quantity
1367	Ryūkyū – Ming		horses
1382	Ryūkyū – Ming		horses
1370	Japan – Ming	Prince Kanenaga	horses
1401	Japan – Ming	Ashikaga Yoshimitsu	10 horses
1402	Japan – Ming	Ashikaga Yoshimitsu	20 horses
1433	Japan – Ming	Ashikaga Yoshinori	20 horses
1451	Japan – Ming	Ashikaga Yoshinori	20 horses
1475	Japan – Ming	Ashikaga Yoshimasa	4 horses
1483	Japan – Ming	Ashikaga Yoshimasa	4 horses
1543	Japan – Ming		4 horses
1408	Ming – Japan		horses
1452–1455	Mongolia – Japan		horses
1532–1555	Western country – Japan (Satsuma)		Arab horses

Source: Teikoku keiba kyōkai 帝国競馬協會編 (ed.), *Nihon basei shi* 日本馬政史, 5 vols. (Tōkyō: Hara shobō, 1981–82), vol. 1, pp. 701–714.

Year	Direction of trade	Additional information	Quantity
1608	Japan – Cambodia		3 horses
1621	Japan – Thailand		3 horses
1626	Japan – Thailand		2 horses
1629	Japan – Thailand		7 horses
1599	Korea – Japan		1 horse
1600	Western country – Japan		1 horse
1636	Korea – Japan		2 horses
1638	Netherlands – Japan		1 horse
1674	Western country – Japan		1 horse
1675	Western country – Japan		1 horse
1676	Netherlands – Japan		2 donkeys

Source: Teikoku keiba kyōkai (ed.), *Nihon basei shi*, vol. 2, pp. 42–49.

Tafelnachweis/Provenance of Plates

- T. 1 Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms22-1948-bg-012v: Firēdūn und seine Begleiter durchqueren mit ihren entsprechend ausgerüsteten Pferden den Arvandrud.
- T. 2 Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms22-1948-bg-020v Bahrām-i Čōbīna im Krieg gegen Sāva, den Hāqān von China; iranische Schützen auf ihren Reitpferden gegen Sāva und Chinesen auf deren Elefanten. – 42/879-928.
- T. 3 Cambridge Ancient Indian and Iranian Fund, PERS201BD-bg.-099v: Sīyāvaḥš in Turan beim Polospiel – 12d/1393ff.
- T. 4 Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms22-1948-bg.-019v: Šāpūr I zeigt seinem Vater Ardašīr-i Bābakān, wie gut er sein Pferd beim Polospiel führt – 22/118ff.
- T. 5 British Library Collections, Norah M. Titley: *Persian miniature painting* (London: The British Library, 1983), Or. 2709 (10a), S. 154, pl. 29: Junge und Pferd.
- T. 6 Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms311-bg.-056r: Rustam u. Raḥš im x^vān-i awwal; Rustam schläft, Raḥš tötet den Löwen.
- T. 7 Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms311-bg-057r: Rustam und Raš im x^vān-i siwwum; Rustam kämpft gegen den Drachen, Raḥš hilft ihm dabei.
- T. 8 Cambridge Ancient Indian and Iranian Fund, PERS201BD-bg-060r: Rustam und Raḥš im x^vān-i sewwum; Rustam kämpft gegen den Drachen. Raḥš hat hier eine andere Hautfarbe.
- T. 9 Cambridge University Library, PERS201BD-bg-062v: Rustam und Raḥš im x^vān-i panḡum; Rustam zwingt den Weidewächter Ūlād, ihn zum Dēv-i Sapēd zu führen. Auch hier ist die Hautfarbe des Raḥš anders.
- T. 10 British Library Collections, Norah M. Titley: *Persian miniature painting* (London: The British Library, 1983), Shāhnāma of Firdawsī. Add. 27258 (95b), S. 117: pl. 17: Rustam und Kay Kaʿus beobachten den König von Mazandaran, der sich in einen Fels verwandelt.
- T. 11 Cambridge University Library, Corpus Or202-bg-062r: Rustam und Isfandyār auf ihren Pferden in einem Zweikampf, Rustam will Isfandyār vom Pferd heben (s. Raḥš).
- T. 12 Cambridge University Library, Corpus Or202-bg-067v: Rustam tötet Isfandyār (der unverwundbare Isfandyār war nur an den Augen verwundbar).
- T. 13 Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms311-bg-263r: Rustam und Raḥš stürzen in die Falle.
- T. 14 British Library Collections, Norah M. Titley: *Persian miniature painting* (London: The British Library, 1983), Shāhnāma of Firdawsī. Add. 27302 (308a), S. 100, pl. 16: Rustam und sein Pferd, gefangen in der Grube mit Speeren.
- Pl. 15 Przewalskij-horse (Frank Trippett (ed.), *Die ersten Reitervölker* (Amsterdam: Time-Life International, 1974), p. 45).
- Pl. 16 Certomlyk-vase (Frank Trippett (ed.), *Die ersten Reitervölker* (Amsterdam: Time-Life International, 1974), p. 31).
- Pl. 17 Golden buckle, Sakhsanokhur (Judith Rickenbach (ed.), *Oxus. 2000 Jahre Kunst am Oxus-Fluss in Mittelasien. Neue Funde aus der Sowjetrepublik Tadschikistan* (Zürich: Museum Rietberg, 1989), p.52-53, no.25).
- Pl. 18 Terracotta-horses from Khotan (Gösta Montell, “Sven Hedin’s Archaeological Collections from Khotan”, *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities Stockholm* 7 (1933), pp.145-221, p. 187, fig.23a and 23b).
- Pl. 19 Horses and their riders from Dandan-Olik, Oasis of Khotan (Marc Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1907, reprint New York 1975), pl. LIX and LXII).
- Pl. 20 Statue of a ‘Hunnish rider’ (Erich Erich Hösel, ca. 1900, original in bronze).
- Pl. 21 Horse from Wuwei (William Watson, *The Genius of China: Exhibition-Catalogue* (London, 1973), p. 119-121, no. 222).
- Pl. 22 Alexander the Great on his horse Bucephalus (Victor Davis Hanson, *Der Krieg in der griechischen Antike* (Leipzig, 2001), p. 180).
- Pl. 23 Rock-relief at Naqsh-e Rostam (Roman Ghirshman, *Iran. Parther und Sasaniden* (München, 1962), p.132).
- Pl. 24 Parthian relief of a horse and its rider from west or central Syria (Malcolm A. R. Colledge, *Parthian Art* (London, 1977), fig. 22).
- Pl. 25 ‘Battle-plaque’ from Orlat near Samarkand (Jangar Ilyasov, and Dimitry V. Rusanov, “A study on the Bone Plates from Orlat”, *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 5 (1997/1998), pp. 107-159, p. 146, pl. IV).
- Pl. 26 Buddhist painting in the ‘Cave of the painters’ at Kyzil (Albert von LeCoq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens* (Berlin 1925), p. 54, fig.50).
- Pl. 27 Horse depicted on rocks at Thalpan, northern Pakistan (Volker Thewalt, “Pferdedarstellungen in Felszeichnungen am oberen Indus”, in Jacob Ozols und Volker Thewalt (eds.), *Aus dem Osten des Alexanderreiches. Völker und Kulturen zwischen Orient und Okzident. Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Indien. Festschrift für Klaus Fischer zum 65. Geburtstag* (Köln, 1984), pp. 204-218, p. 210, fig.7 and p. 211, fig. 8).

- Pl. 28 Terracotta-horses from Shortshuk (Albert von LeCoq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens* (Berlin, 1925), p. 76, fig. 135).
- Pl. 29 'The great departure' of Prince Siddharta (Qoco near Turfan) (Benjamin Rowland, *Central Asia. Art of the World* (New York, 1970), p. 188).
- Pl. 30 Terracotta saddled horse (Tang dynasty) (Helmut Brinker, Roger Goepper (eds.), *Kunstschätze aus China. 5000 v. Chr. bis 900 n. Chr.: Neuere Funde aus der Volksrepublik China* (Zürich, 1980), p. 311, fig. 80).
- Pl. 31 Historical City of Harīreh, Kīsh Island in Iran (Photo: YOKKAICHI Yasuhiro, 28 April 2007).
- Pl. 32 Remain of stable (?) at Harīreh, Kīsh (Photo: YOKKAICHI Yasuhiro, 29 April 2007).
- Pl. 33 Distribution routes of horses in the 13-14 centuries (by YOKKAICHI Yasuhiro).
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- Pl. 35 The Portuguese fortress of Hormuz (c.1563), in Gaspar Correia's *Lendas da Índia* (Arquivos Nacionais / Torre do Tombo, Lisbon).
- Pl. 36 Detail from a Map of Goa included in the *Itinerario* by Jan Huygen van Linschoten (Amsterdam, 1596).
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- Pl. 40 A bronze toy horse found in the Samon River Valley, and possibly influenced by Dian culture (*Illustration courtesy of Bob Hudson*).
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- Pl. 46 Glazed horse figurine from M1 at Pingling near Xianyang, Shaanxi; dated to the late 4th to the early 5th centuries. (After Xianyangshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Xiangyang Pingling Shiliuguo mu ...," p.13, fig. 13).
- Pl. 47 Horse figurines showing traits of good horses. *Left*: Painted horse figurine from a tomb at Datong, dated to the end of the 5th century. (After Datongshi kaogu yanjiusuo, "Shanxi Datong Yingbin dadao ...," p.57, fig.18) *Right*: Glazed horse figurine from the tomb of Sima Jinlong (died 484) at Datong. (After Yishujia gongjushu bianweihui, *Gudai taoci daquan*, Taipei: Yishujia chubanshe, 1989, p.396).
- Pl. 48 Painted and gilded horse figurine with exaggerated long legs from the tomb of Lou Rui (died 570). (After Taiyuanshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Bei Qi Lou Rui mu*, p.65, fig.53).
- Pl. 49 Horses comparatively larger than in earlier times. (After Xianyangshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Xiangyang Pingling Shiliuguo mu ...," p.11, fig.8).
- Pl. 50 The heads of two rider figurines from a tomb at Xinji in Pengyang county near Guyuan, Ningxia. (After Ningxia Guyuan bowuguan, *Guyuan lishi wenwu*, p.185-86, pls. 109-110).
- Pl. 51 Gilded bronze plates for saddles from tomb M101 and a stirrup with a wooden core and bronze fittings from M266; both at Lamadong near Beipiao, Liaoning. (After Liaoningsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo *et al.*, "Liaoning Beipiao Lamadong mudī", pls.18.2, 18.3, p.230, fig. 22.1).
- Pl. 52 *Left*: Saddle form after the tomb murals of Lou Rui (died 570). (After Taiyuanshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Bei Qi Lou Rui mu*, pl.1 left; detail) *Right*: Saddle from the Tang tomb M2 at Yanhu, Xinjiang. (After Wang Binghua, "Yanhu gumu," p.32, fig.9)
- Pl. 53 Riders in a hunting scene on a coffin sideboard from Datong, dated to the end of the 5th century (photographed by Shing Müller).
- Pl. 54 A fully caparisoned horse without rider. Mural on the west wall of the tomb of Xu Xianxiu (died 571) of the Northern Qi at Taiyuan. (After Taiyuanshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Bei Qi Xu Xianxiu mu*).
- Pl. 55 Mural with horses and riders from the tomb of Lou Rui (died 570). (After Taiyuanshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Bei Qi Lou Rui mu*, pl.4 right).
- T. 56 *Xi'an. Kaiserliche Macht im Jenseits. Ausstellungskatalog Bonn* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), S. 271, Nr. 186.
- T. 57 *Xi'an. Kaiserliche Macht im Jenseits. Ausstellungskatalog Bonn* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), S. 270, Nr. 185.
- T. 58 *Xi'an. Kaiserliche Macht im Jenseits. Ausstellungskatalog Bonn* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), S. 277, Nr. 195.
- T. 59 Anil de Silva, *Chinesische Landschaftsmalerei. Am Beispiel der Höhlen von Tun-huang* (dt. Üb. Leopold Voelker) (Baden-Baden: Holle, 1964), S. 137.
- T. 60 Werner Speiser, *China. Geist und Gesellschaft* (Baden-Baden: Holle, 1959), Titelseite.
- T. 61 Ma Junmin 馬俊民 und Wang Shiping 王世平, *Tangdai mazheng* 唐代馬政 (Taipei: Wunan tushu, 1995), letzte Tafel im Einband.
- T. 62 Ma Junmin 馬俊民 und Wang Shiping 王世平, *Tangdai mazheng* 唐代馬政 (Taipei: Wunan tushu, 1995), vor letzte Tafel im Einband.
- T. 63 Bernd Melchers, *Himmelspferde. Pferde in der Kunst Chinas* (Kassel: Friedrich Lometsch, 1958), S. 38.

- T. 64 Huang Zuolin, *Peking Opera and Mei Lanfang* (Beijing: New World, 1981), S. 15.
- Pl. 65 Image of Yunli, hereditary prince of Guo by Guiseppe Castiglione (The Macao Museum of Art (ed.), *The Golden Exile: Pictorial Expressions of the School of Western Missionaries' Artworks of the Qing Dynasty Court* (Macao: Museu de Arte de Macau, 2002), p. 5).
- Pl. 66 *Hongli Hunting* by Guiseppe Castiglione (The Macao Museum of Art (ed.), *The Golden Exile: Pictorial Expressions of the School of Western Missionaries' Artworks of the Qing Dynasty Court* (Macao: Museu de Arte de Macau, 2002), p. 10).
- Pl. 67 One leave from the *Ten Fine Horses* by Jean Denis Attiret (The Macao Museum of Art (ed.), *The Golden Exile: Pictorial Expressions of the School of Western Missionaries' Artworks of the Qing Dynasty Court* (Macao: Museu de Arte de Macau, 2002), p. 16).
- Pl. 68 *Hongli Shooting Two Deers with One Arrow* by Anonymous (The Macao Museum of Art (ed.), *The Golden Exile: Pictorial Expressions of the School of Western Missionaries' Artworks of the Qing Dynasty Court* (Macao: Museu de Arte de Macau, 2002), p. 28).
- Pl. 69 *Hongli Shooting a Wolf* by Anonymous (The Macao Museum of Art (ed.), *The Golden Exile: Pictorial Expressions of the School of Western Missionaries' Artworks of the Qing Dynasty Court* (Macao: Museu de Arte de Macau, 2002), p. 35).
- Pl. 70 Battle scenario included in the *Qing shilu* 清實錄 (*Da Qing Gaozong huangdi shilu*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1985–1987), j. 83).



T. 1 Firēdūn und seine Begleiter durchqueren mit ihren entsprechend ausgerüsteten Pferden den Arvandrud



T. 2 Bahrām-i Čōbīna im Krieg gegen Sāva, den Hāqān von China; iranische Schützen auf ihren Reitpferden gegen Sāva und Chinesen auf deren Elefanten



T. 3 Sīyāhwaḡš in Turan beim Polospiel



T. 4 Šāpūr I zeigt seinem Vater Ardašīr-i Bābakān, wie gut er sein Pferd beim Polospiel führt



T. 5 Junge und Pferd



T. 6 Rustam u. Raḡš im xʿān-i awwal; Rustam schläft, Raḡš tötet den Löwen



T. 7 Rustam und Raš im x'ān-i siwwum; Rustam kämpft gegen den Drachen, Raḡš hilft ihm dabei



T. 8 Rustam und Raḥš im x'ān-i sewwum; Rustam kämpft gegen den Drachen. Raḥš hat hier eine andere Hautfarbe



T. 9 Rustam und Raḥš im x^{ān}-i paṅgum; Rustam zwingt den Weidewächter Ūlād, ihn zum Dēv-i Sapēd zu führen. Auch hier ist die Hautfarbe des Raḥš anders



T. 10 Rustam und Kay Ka'us beobachten den König von Mazandaran, der sich in einen Fels verwandelt.



T. 11 Rustam und Isfandiyār auf ihren Pferden in einem Zweikampf, Rustam will Isfandiyār vom Pferd heben (s. Rahš)



T. 12 Rustam tötet Isfandyār (der unverwundbare Isfandyār war nur an den Augen verwundbar)

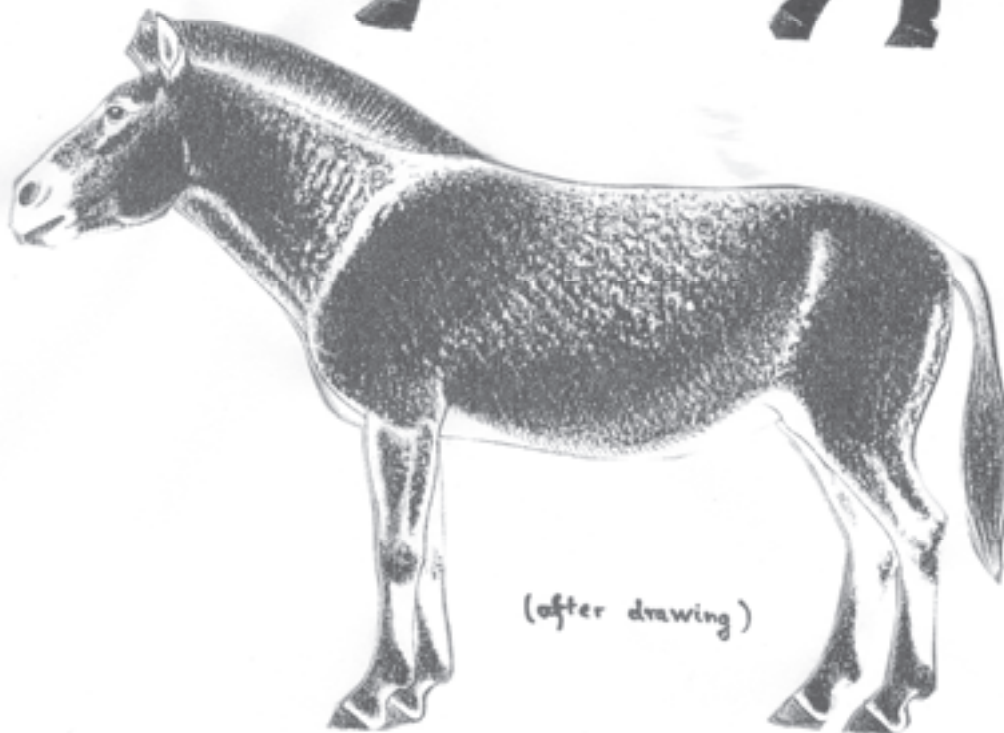


T. 13 Rustam und Rahš stürzen in die Falle



T. 14 Rustam und sein Pferd, gefangen in der Grube mit Speeren

Equus przewalskii



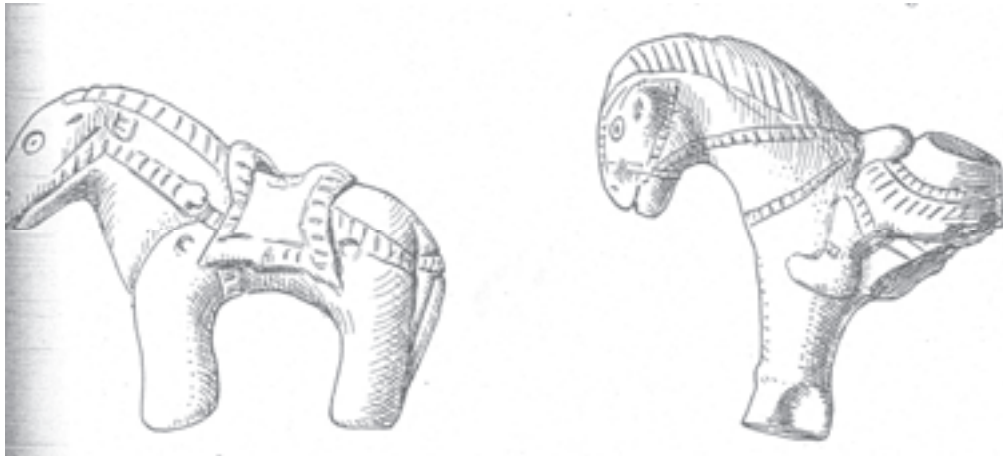
Pl. 15 Przevalskij-horse



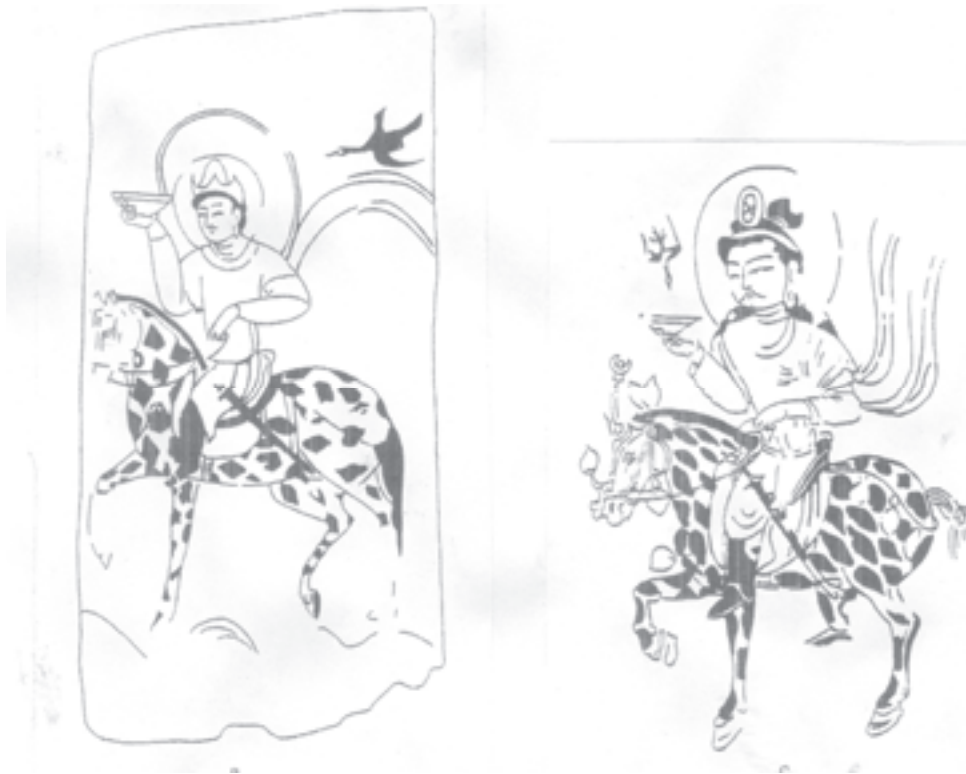
Pl. 16 Certomlyk vase.



Pl. 17 Golden buckle, Saksanokhur.



Pl. 18 Terracotta-horses from Khotan



Pl. 19 Horses and their riders from Dandan-Olik, Oasis of Khotan



Pl. 20 Statue of a 'Hunnic rider'



Pl. 21 Horse from Wuwei



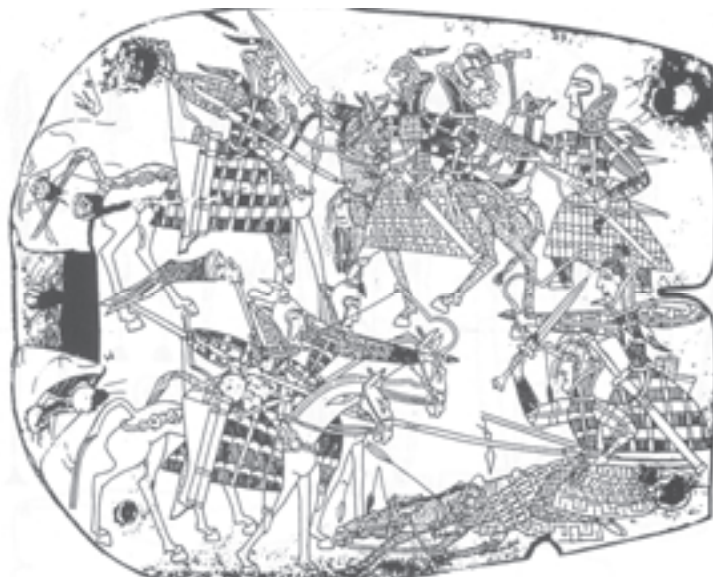
Pl. 22 Alexander the Great on his horse Bucephalos



Pl. 23 Naqsh-i Rustam.



Pl. 24 Parthian relief of a horse and its rider from west or central Syria



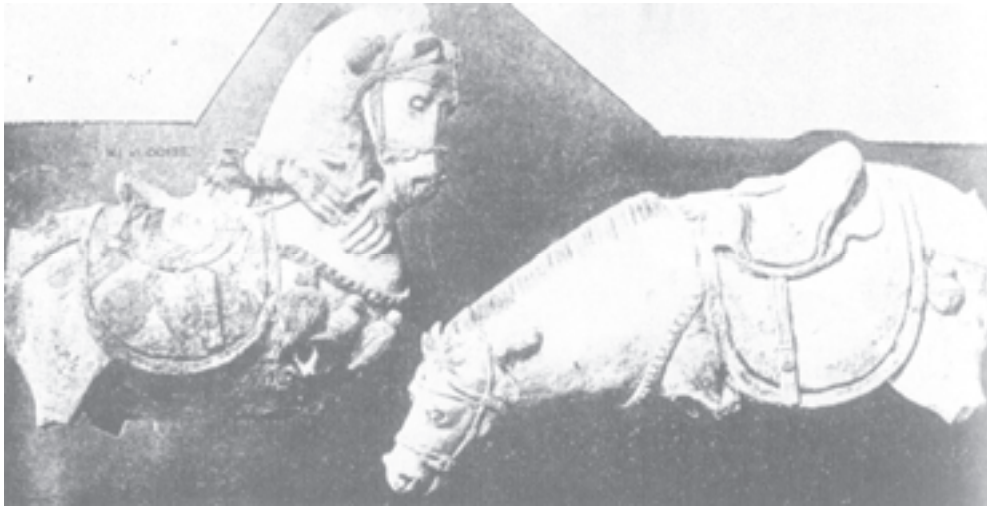
Pl. 25 'Battle-plaque' from Orlat near Samarkand



Pl. 26 Buddhist painting in the 'Cave of the painters' at Kyzil



Pl. 27 Horse depicted on rocks at Thalpan, northern Pakistan



Pl. 28 Terracotta-horses from Shortshuk



Pl. 29 'The great departure' of Prince Siddhartha
(Qoco near Turfan).



Pl. 30 Terracotta saddled horse (Tang dynasty)



Pl. 31 Historical City of Harīreh, Kīsh Island in Iran



Pl. 32 Remains of a stable (?) at Harīreh, Kīsh



Pl. 33 Distribution of horses in the 13–14 centuries



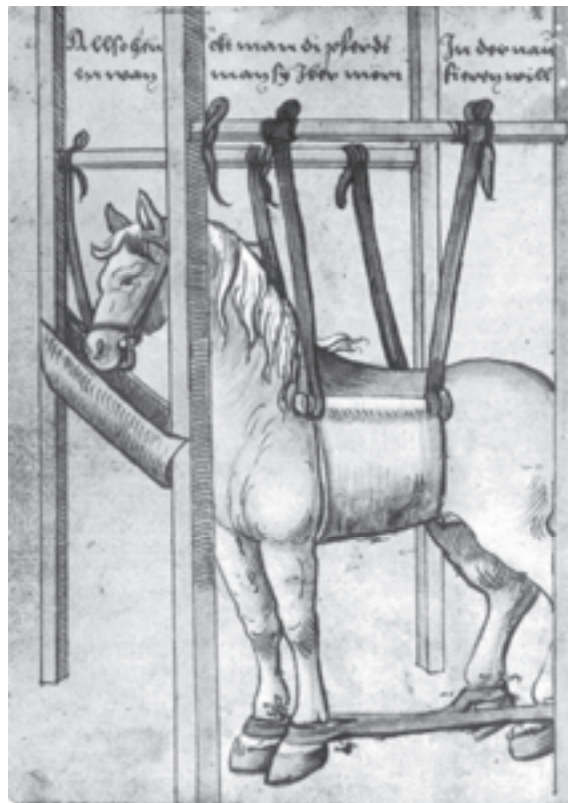
Pl. 34 Circulation of silver in the 13–14 centuries



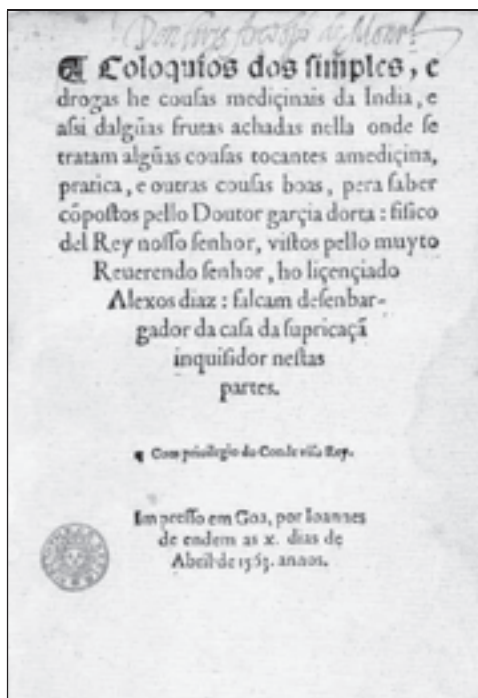
Pl. 35 The Portuguese fortress of Hormuz (c.1563), in Gaspar Correia's *Lendas da Índia* (Arquivos Nacionais / Torre do Tombo, Lisbon)



Pl. 36 Detail from a Map of Goa included in the *Itinerario* by Jan Huygen van Linschoten (Amsterdam, 1596)



Pl. 37 Drawing by Christoph Weiditz (1523)

Pl. 38 Frontispice of the *Colóquios dos simples* by Garcia de Orta (Goa, 1563)Pl. 39 Frontispice of the *Tractado de las drogas* by Cristóvão da Costa (Burgos, 1578)



Pl. 40 A bronze toy horse found in the Samon River Valley, and possibly influenced by Dian culture



Pl. 41 Detail of a bronze drum found on the island of Sangeang, near Sumbawa, Indonesia. Possibly third century CE



Pl. 42 Earliest representation of a horse in Cham art (7–8th cent. CE)



Pl. 43 Polo players depicted on a Cham frieze of 8th (?) century CE



Pl. 44 A Cham frieze from Binh Dinh showing chariot warfare 11th–12th century



Pl. 45 Army commander astride horse as depicted on Angkor Wat, 12th cent. CE



Pl. 46 Glazed horse figurine from M1 at Pingling near Xianyang, Shaanxi; dated to the late 4th to the early 5th centuries



Pl. 47 Horse figurines showing traits of good horses. *Left*: Painted horse figurine from a tomb at Datong, dated to the end of the 5th century



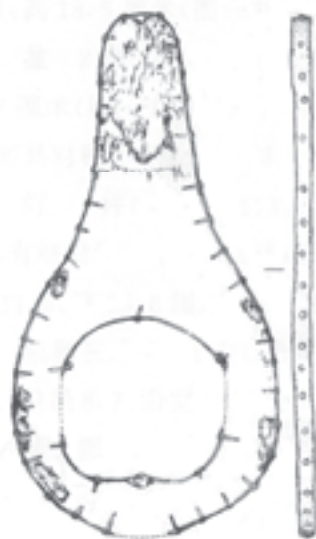
Pl. 48 Painted and gilded horse figurine with exaggerated long legs from the tomb of Lou Rui (died 570)



Pl. 49 Horses comparatively larger than in earlier times



Pl. 50 The heads of two rider figurines from a tomb at Xinji in Pengyang county near Guyuan, Ningxia



Pl. 51 Gilded bronze plates for saddles from tomb M 101 and a stirrup with a wooden core and bronze fittings from M266; both at Lamadong near Beipiao, Liaoning



Pl. 52 *Left*: Saddle form after the tomb murals of Lou Rui (died 570, *Right*: Saddle from the Tang tomb M 2 at Yanhu, Xinjiang



Pl. 53 Riders in a hunting scene on a coffin sideboard from Datong, dated to the end of the 5th century



Pl. 54 A fully caparisoned horse without rider. Mural on the west wall of the tomb of Xu Xianxiu (died 571) of the Northern Qi at Taiyuan.



Pl. 55 Mural with horses and riders from the tomb of Lou Rui (died 570)



T. 56



T. 57



T. 58



T. 59



T. 60



T. 61



T. 62



T. 63



T. 64



Pl. 65 Image of Yunli, hereditary prince of Guo 果親王允禮像 by Guiseppe Castiglione



Pl. 66 *Hongli Hunting* 弘曆射獵圖 by Guiseppe Castiglione



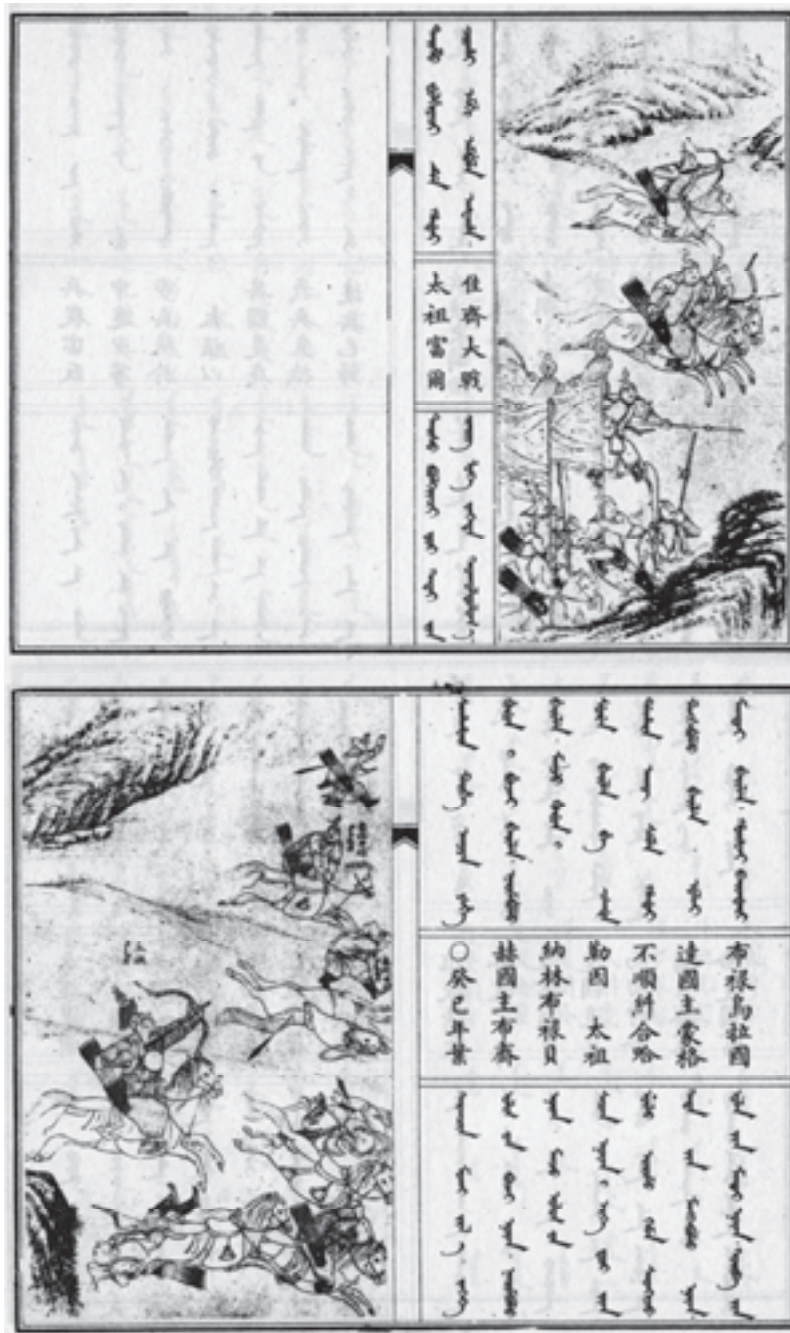
Pl. 67 One leave from the *Ten Fine Horses* 十駿馬圖 by Jean Denis Attiret



Pl. 68 Hongli Shooting Two Deers with One Arrow 弘曆一發雙鹿圖 by Anonymous



Pl. 69 *Hongli Shooting a Wolf* 弘曆射狼圖 by Anonymous



Pl. 70 Battle scenario included in the *Qing shilu* (*Da Qing Gaozong huangdi shilu*, p. 83)

